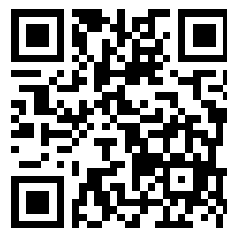


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# LOAN CHARACTERS IN PRE-HAN TEXTS

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

According to the traditional classification of the Chinese characters, there are *liu shu*, "six kinds of script elements", viz.:

1. *Siang hing* 象形 (pictures), e.g. 口 *k'ou* 'mouth'.
2. *Chi shi* 指事 (abstract symbols), e.g. 上 *shang* 'up' and 下 *hia* 'down'.
3. *Huei yi* 會意 (compound ideograms), e.g. 好 *hao* 'to love', from 'woman' and 'child'.
4. *Chuan chu* 轉注 (already existing characters used for new notions through extension of meaning), e.g. 布 *pu* 'cloth', also meaning 'currency, money'.
5. *Kia tsie* 假借 (loan characters, already existing characters used for other words owing to sound identity or similarity) e.g. 后 *hou* (Arch. *g'u*) 'sovereign', sometimes loan for the word 後 *hou* (Arch. *g'u*) 'after', normally written 後; 殄 *t'ien* (Arch. *d'ien*) 'to destroy', sometimes used for the word 腆 *t'ien* (Arch. *t'ien*) 'ample, good', correctly written 腴.
6. *Hie sheng* 諧聲 (or: *Hing sheng* 形聲), compounds of one "Radical" (suggesting the meaning) and one "Phonetic" (suggesting the sound), e.g. 悶 *men* 'sad', from 心 'heart' (Radical) and 門 *men* 'gate' (Phonetic).

It is easily observed that categories 1, 2 and 3 are based on the composition of the characters, whereas cats. 4 and 5 are based on secondary applications of already existing characters, and cat. 6 is something partaking of both.

The present paper will deal with category 5, *Kia tsie* (here abbreviated *Kt*), and, to some extent, with cat. 6 (*Hie sheng*, here abbreviated *Hs*).

One of the most dangerous stumbling-blocks in the interpretation of pre-Han texts is the frequent occurrence of *Kt*, loan characters. It has sometimes been asserted that it was the merit of the great Ts'ing scholars to have realized the important part played by the *Kt* in archaic texts.<sup>1)</sup> This is not quite just, for, as we shall see, many earlier scholars made frequent use of *Kt* explanations in moot passages; the great pioneer was indeed the famous Cheng Hūan (Cheng K'ang-ch'eng, dead 200 A.D.). But it is true that the Ts'ing scholars went much further in this respect than their predecessors, and famous scholars like Chu Tsün-sheng and Yü Yüe and, in recent years, writers like Ma Sü-lun and Kuo Mo-jo have carried this kind of exegesis to extremes. It is high time that the reliability of such *Kt* explanations be systematically tested.

It should first be emphasized that there is a fundamental difference between 聲訓 *sheng hün* "interpretations by sound similarity" and interpretations by

<sup>1)</sup> Thus, for instance, H. A. Giles, Chinese Biographical Dictionary under Wang Yin-chih says: "He and his father Wang Nien-sun are notable for having recognized the frequent use in the Classics and ancient writings of characters employed for others on the strength of similarity of sound".

Kt. The former are a kind of primitive etymology. It is of very ancient origin. When Mencius says: [1] *siang* (Arch. *dzjang*) 'school' means *yang* (Arch. *zjang*) 'to nourish, to bring up', he does not mean that the former character (*dzjang*) should be read *yang* (*zjang*), only that the two words are cognate, *siang* (*dzjang*) being of the same stem as *yang* (*zjang*). Such interpretations by etymology abound in the definitions of Mao Heng on the *Shī*, of the Eastern Han scholars on the various classics and in Hū Shen's *Shuo wen kie tsi*. Thus, for instance, in Ode 14, phr. [2], Mao says: [3] *ch'ung* (*t'iong*) is [4] equal to [5] *ch'ung* (*t'ung*) 'to strike', thus "My grieved heart is (knocked =) agitated" — evidently Mao considered the sense of 'to strike' to be fundamental in 3., the two words being cognate.

1 庠者養也 2 憂心忡忡 3 忡 4 猶 5 衡 6 黨 7 善 8 昌言 9 黨(讒)言  
10 聲近義同 11 臂 12 力 13 旅力 14 臂(旅) 15 一聲之轉 16 報往 17 報請為  
赴疾之赴 18 報音赴 19 侯 20 豆 21 干 22 旃 23 安 24 寧 25 然

The Ts'ing scholars have applied this kind of etymological interpretation of difficult words to a very large extent, for instance Wang Nien-sun in his famous *Kuang ya shu cheng*, Ho Yi-hang in his *Erya yi shu* and many others. Since their knowledge of the Archaic phonology was limited to the grouping of the words into certain categories of initials and finals, but without concrete values for these categories, they often advanced very hazardous conclusions. Two examples may suffice:

*Kuang ya*, shang 1, has an entry [6] *tang* (*tang*) = [7] 'good'. Wang Nien-sun refers this to Shu: Kao Yao mo phr. [8] 'splendid words', where other versions have [9], and he says: *tang* (*tang*) and *ch'ang* (*i'iang*) have [10] "the sounds (close:) similar and the meaning the same". Thus there would exist a *tang* meaning 'good, fine, splendid', cognate to (of the same word stem as) *i'iang* 'splendid'. This was refuted in my Gloss 1300 (BMFEA 20, 1948).

*Kuang ya*, shang 2, has an entry [11] *li* (*gliō*) = [12] 'strength'. Wang Nien-sun, referring to several passages with the phr. [13], says: from [14] *li* (*gliō*) to [12] *li* (*liək*) there was [13 a] "the shifting of one sound" (i.e. the final *io* : *ək*) and hence *gliō*, being cognate to *liək*, could mean 'strength'. An affinity (deduced from sound similarity) between *gliō* and *liək* is of course out of the question.

As already stated, this kind of "interpretation by sound similarity", should not be confused with the Kt, the "loan character interpretations". In the latter it is expressly stated that the character in question in the text does not have its ordinary meaning but stands for another word, the reading and meaning of which it adopts. Cheng Hūan, on *Li ki*: Shao yi, phr. [14 a], says: [15] "*pa o* (*pōg*) is read *fu* (*p'iug*) as in the phr. *fu tsi* 'hastily'; thus: do not hastily go away" (sc. from a task). And Lu Tê-ming consequently in *Shi-wen* says: [16] *pa o* (*pōg*) (here) has the sound *fu* (*p'iug*). The value of the theory of Cheng's in this instance will be discussed later. The case, however, gives a good example of the interpretation by *Kia tsie* (Kt), loan characters, which are the principal theme of this paper. The practice of Kt, loan characters, was widespread in the pre-Han texts. We may distinguish the following-sub-categories:

A. The character for a word X used for a non-cognate but homophonous word Y, which had no character of its own, e.g.

[17] h o u (*g'u*) 'target, archer, chief, prince', Kt for h o u (*g'u*) 'a particle' (Shī);

[18] t o u (*d'u*) 'a kind of vessel', Kt for t o u (*d'u*) 'bean' (common);

[19] k a n (*kán*) 'shield', Kt for k a n (*kán*) 'stream in valley' (Shī);

[20] c h a n (*īian*) 'a kind of flag', Kt for c h a n (*īian*) 'him, her, it' (Shī), and for c h a n (*īian*) 'final particle' (*ibid.*);

[21] a n (*án*) 'peace', Kt for a n (*án*) 'how, where, what' (common);

[22] y ü a n (*giwǎn*) 'to drag, dragging slowly', Kt for y ü a n (*giwǎn*) 'a particle' (common);

[23] h i e n (*g'ǎn*) 'bar, barrier', Kt for h i e n (*g'ǎn*) 'well-trained' (common).

[24] n i n g (*nieng*) 'peace, tranquil', Kt for n i n g (*nieng*) 'how, why' (common);

[25] j a n (*nīan*) 'to roast', Kt for j a n (*nīan*) 'so, thus' (common).

Cases like these are numerous; there are scores of them registered in my *Grammata Serica Recensa*.

B. The character for a word X used for a non-cognate but homophonous word Y which already had another character of its own; the Kt procedure here is thus really quite unnecessary. Examples (for the case [26] Kt for [27] see above):

26 后 27 後 28 公 29 功 30 匡 31 梁 32 宿 33 肅 34 姚 35 夫 36 縣 37 契 38 殄 39  
映 40 報 41 赴 42 邪 43 徐 44 折 45 制 46 信 47 中 48 宅 49 度 50 由 51 猶 52 袂  
53 著 54 燿 55 亡 56 無 57 還 58 族

[28] k u n g (*kung*) 'prince, public', Kt for [29] k u n g (*kung*) 'merit' (Shu);

[30] y ü (*ngio*) 'prison', Kt for [31] y ü (*ngio*) 'to withstand' (Chuang, Kuan);

[32] s u (*sīuk*) 'to lodge the night', Kt for [33] s u (*sīuk*) 'reverent, to observe abstinence' (Li);

[34] y a o (*dīog*) 'beautiful, a family name', Kt for y a o (*dīog*) 'distant' (Sün).

Such cases are also quite common, and many instances may be culled from *Grammata Serica Recensa*.

C. The character for a word X used for a non-cognate, phonetically more or less similar (but not homophonous) word Y, which had no character of its own, e.g.:

[35] f u (*pīwo*) 'man', Kt for f u (*b'īwo*) 'the one in question, as to', and Kt for f u (*b'īwo*) 'final particle' (common);

[36] h ü a n (*g'īwan*) 'to suspend', Kt for h i e n (*g'ian*) 'district' (Chouli);

[37] k' i (*k'iad*) 'script notches', Kt for k' i e (*k'iat*) 'separated' (Shī).

This is likewise a large category.

D. The character for a word X used for a non-cognate, phonetically more or less similar (but not homophonous) word Y, which already had another character of its own. Here belong the already mentioned [38] t' i e n (*d'īan*) 'to destroy', Kt for [39] t' i e n (*t'īan*) 'ample, good'; and [40] p a o (*póg*), Kt for [41] f u (*p'ing*) (Cheng Hūan). Other examples:

[42] y e (*zǐd*), 'place name' Kt for [43] s ü (*dǎo*) 'slow' (Shī);  
 [44] c h ê (*tǐat*) 'to break', Kt for [45] c h ī (*tǐad*) 'to restrain' (Shu);  
 [46] s i n (*sǐēn*) 'truthful', Kt for [47] s h e n (*sǐēn*) 'to prolong' (Shī);  
 [48] t s ê (*d'āk*) 'residence', Kt for [49] t o (*d'āk*) 'to measure' (Shu);  
 [50] y u (*dǐōg*) 'to proceed from', Kt for [51] y u (*zǐōg*) 'equal to' (Meng).

E. The character for a word X used for a non-cognate and phonetically only slightly or not at all similar but synonymous word which either had no character of its own, or else already had one.

The former is the case in:

[52] k ü e (*kiwat*) 'sleeve', also used for a word m i (*mǐad*) 'sleeve';  
 [53] c h u (*tǐo*) 'place, position, to appear, to signal', also used for a word c h o (*tǐak*) 'to place, to publish'.  
 [54] h ü a n (*χǐwǎn*) 'warm' also used for a word n u a n (*nwǎn*) 'warm'.

The latter occurs in:

[55] w a n g (*mǐwang*) 'to disappear, not exist, not have, not', also used for [56] w u (*mǐwo*) 'not exist, not have, not';  
 [57] h u a n (*g'wan*) 'to turn round, return', also used for [58] s ü a n (*dǐwǎn*) 'to turn round'.

We shall call the cases belonging to cat. E "synonym loans" (synonym Kt).

To sum up: of the loan characters, categories A—D are based on sound identity (A, B) or sound similarity (C, D), but category E is not founded on phonetic conditions but on synonymous meanings.

As already stated above, the Chinese scholars all the way from Cheng Hūan down to our own day have proposed loan character interpretations in thousands of cases where the meaning of characters in pre-Han texts is debatable. How far can we accept these proposals?

In regard to categories A and B (sound identity between the proposed loan character and the word it is said to replace) there is really no problem. There exist so many safe examples of loan transactions where there is homophony that we may safely lay down this principle: a proposed Kt where there is full homophony (apart from tones, which are immaterial in the loan practice) between the two members can be accepted without hesitation, if the context and the content of the text make it probable, since there is no objection possible from a phonetic point of view.

Much more intricate is the problem of categories C and D in which there is no homophony between the members but only a more or less close phonetic similarity. The salient question is here this: what degree of phonetic similarity must we demand if we are to accept a proposed Kt as plausible? How far can the two members diverge in sound before we conclude that a Kt is improbable or even out of the question?

In answering this question we can obtain valuable help from a certain class of characters; this brings us over to the question of the 6th of the *liu shu* "six kinds of script elements", the *Hie sheng* (Hs), consisting of a "Radical" and a "Phonetic".

59 易 60 位 61 生 62 錫 63 唯 64 姓 65 才 66 在 67 乍 68 作 69 某 70 謀 71 孚 72 傳 73 白 74 伯 75 古 76 故 77 已 78 杞 79 彊 80 彊 81 豕 82 墜 83 每 84 敏 85 乎 86 呼 87 牲 88 征 89 從 90 達 91 都 92 唯 93 吾 94 神 95 邾 96 裏 97 新 98 追 99 沈 100 舍 101 捨 102 女 103 汝 104 化 105 貨 106 共 107 供 108 恭 109 辟 110 壁 111 僻 112 癖

The loan category C (an X borrowed for a non-cognate, phonetically only similar Y, which had no character of its own) was originally very large indeed. In the inscriptions on ritual bronzes of the Western Chou period (1027—771 B.C.) we find scores of instances: [59] *y i* (*d̩ĕk*) 'to change' was used for *s i* (*s̩ĕk*) 'to give'; [60] *c h u e i* (*ĭwər*) 'bird' for *w e i* (*d̩wər*) 'a particle'; [61] *s h e n g* (*s̩ng*) 'to bear, to live' for *s i n g* (*s̩ng*) 'clan'; etc. This loan practice was so extensive as to make the texts too ambiguous, and some genius came upon the brilliant idea of elucidating the loan operation by adding to the Kt an element ("Radical") which directly indicated that the character was used as a loan: [59] 'to give' became [62], [60] 'a particle' became [63], [61] 'clan' became [64] etc. The important fact here is this: the Hs (*H i e - s h e n g*) characters 62, 63, 64 are always fundamentally Kt (*K i a - t s i e*, phonetic loans) — we might describe them as HsKt. In characters like the latter three, the original part (in these instances the elements to the right) the so-called "Phonetic" is a Kt, and the rest, the "Radical" is only a distinguishing, elucidating addition, telling the reader that in a certain context the character [59] did not mean 'to change' (its normal meaning) but [62] 'to give' (*d̩ĕk* being Kt for *s̩ĕk*). In the thousands of Hs characters of the classical script we thus have a material of paramount value for verifying what degree of phonetic similarity was demanded for permitting of a Kt employment of a character, or, to turn it the other way, what degree of phonetic dissimilarity made a Kt employment unallowable.

The evolution just described from simple Kt, without elucidating "Radical", to Kt embellished with a distinguishing Radical (Hs) is well illustrated in the bronze inscriptions of Western Chou. We find numerous instances (besides those already mentioned) of the former kind, which are not current in the orthodox written versions of the classics, but there always have their "Radical" enlargements, e.g. [65] for [66], [67] for [68], [69] for [70], [71] for [72], [73] for [74], [75] for [76], [77] for [78], [79] for [80], [81] for [82], [83] for [84], [85] for [86] etc. But, on the other hand, the elucidated type did already exist in some Western Chou inscriptions, e.g. 87—99.

These examples and many others are easily found in the handy corpus: Kuo Mo-jo: *Liang Chou kin wen ts'ï ta hi t'u lu k'ao shi* 1958.

In the standard versions of the pre-Han texts we find a fair number of remnants of this procedure. There we often find [100] (without Radical) for [101], [102] for [103], [104] for [105] (in the *Shu*), [106] for [107] and for [108].

On the whole, however, the creation of the Hs characters, i.e. Kt with elucidating additions, has greatly reduced the number of bare Kt. Yet we must always keep

in mind that in [101] *s h ê* (*śiđ*) 'to set aside', the element [100] *s h ê* (*śiđ*) 'lodging-house' is just as much a Kt (phonetic loan) as when [100] stands alone, as a bare Kt for [101].

There are some striking examples underlining this fact. The character [109] *p i* (*pǐĕk*) 'ruler' and *p i* (*b'ǐĕk*) 'law, rule' is used, now as bare Kt, now as enlarged Kt [110] for *p i* (*pǐĕk*) 'jade insignium', both in the Shī; it is used, now as bare Kt, now as enlarged Kt [111] for *p' i* (*p'ǐĕk*) 'depraved', the former in the Shī, the latter in the Shu; it is used, now as bare Kt, now as enlarged Kt [112] for *p i* (*b'ǐĕk*) 'to beat the breast', both in the Shī; it is used, now as bare Kt, now as enlarged Kt [113] for *p' i* (*b'ǐĕk*) 'to open', the former in the Shī, the latter in the Shu; it is used, now as bare Kt, now as enlarged Kt [114] for *p i* (*b'ǐĕg*) 'to go away from', the former in the Shī, the latter in Meng.

The facts set forth here about the relation between a bare Kt and the Hs character, namely that the latter is always likewise a Kt, though embellished with an elucidating addition (Radical), being, so to speak, an "authorized *Kia tsie*", allow us to draw a very important conclusion:

Whenever a Kt is proposed, even if there is not homophony but only phonetic similarity, provided it keeps within one and the same Hs series, it is always phonetically possible (whether it is plausible or not will then depend on the contents of the text and the context). Take, for instance, the series of words: [115]. Any of these characters may serve as Kt for any of the others (if contents and context make this probable) simply because they are all fundamentally the bare [109] used as Kt (with one additional elucidating element or another). Consequently, when studying the many Kt proposed by various Chinese scholars from the point of view of their sound conditions (whether the similarity is such as to make the supposition of a Kt plausible), we can simply leave aside, as being phonetically possible, all such cases where the proposed loan character and the character for which it is said to serve belong to the same Hs series (as the series [115] below).

The principal aim of the present paper being a control of the phonetic plausibility of various Kt proposed by Chinese scholars, we are not taking up for discussion at present all instances of the said kind. When Wang Yin-chī (Shu wen) on Shu: P'an Keng, phr. [116], says that [117] (*dz'ám*) is Kt for [118] (*tsiam*), there can be no objection from the phonetic point of view, the character [119] (*tsám*) being Kt ("Phonetic") in both words. (When Wang's theory was refuted in my Gloss 1469, it was for other reasons).

If all proposed Kt within one and the same Hs series are left aside, and if the Hs characters thus limit the field of our inquiry, they are furthermore, as already stated, invaluable, since (being themselves "authorized Kt") they reveal what latitude of sound divergence is allowable, when we propose to find a Kt of the categories C and D above, and since the Hs are so numerous that they admit of reliable conclusions.

Once we embark upon an examination of the Hs as a key to the sound variations allowable in Kt, we come up against the difficulty of determining which characters



are really Hs, and what their Archaic pronunciation was like. For the former the Chinese philologists invariably refer to Hū Shen's Shuo wen kie tsī — it is an axiom in Chinese philology that Hū was infallible: if he says that X is Phonetic in Y, it simply is, there can be no discussion about it. Hū, however, living in the 1st century of our era, could know little of the phonology a thousand years earlier, and quite often, though he was a great genius and his work a *monumentum aere perennius*, he made serious mistakes. Since this is a salient point, it being necessary definitely to establish that we cannot always swear by the words of Hū Shen, a few examples will be given in which he says that X is Phonetic in Y, though that is quite excluded.

113 關 114 避 115 辟 壁 僻 僻 僻 關 壁 僻 僻 僻 僻 僻 僻 僻 僻 僻 僻 僻 僻 116 暫 遇 117 暫 118 漸 119 斬 120 示 121 殺 122 取 123 叢 124 示 125 秦 126 自 127 集 128 立 129 昱 130 甫 131 牖 132 害 133 憲 134 叔 135 叔 136 益 137 益 138 益 139 益 140 年 141 聾 142 禾 143 垂 144 戌 145 威 146 於 147 關 148 貴 149 賁 150 世 151 葉 152 合 153 荅 154 丙 155 更 156 收 157 葭 158 尾 159 屏 160 庚 161 唐 162 自 163 歸 164 告 165 造 166 人 167 千 168 寅 169 曠 170 受 171 股 172 號 173 饗 174 子 175 李 176 少 177 少 178 矛 179 柔 180 今 181 資 182 牙 183 邪 184 虎 185 虜 186 千 187 年 188 魚 189 魚 190 雨 191 泰 192 多 193 宜 194 羔 195 案 196 匕 197 尼 198 胡 199 廟 200 勺 201 新 202 交 203 駁 204 耳 205 取 206 准 207 淮 208 其 209 斯 210 原 211 原

The reason why we can venture to assert this is that the phonology of early Chou time has been reconstructed in its essential features,<sup>1)</sup> and that practically all characters figuring in pre-Han texts are given with their Arch. readings in the *Grammata Serica Recensa*.

[120] s h i (d'jər)	Phon. in [121] t a i (todd);
[122] t s' ü (ts'ju)	in [123] t s' u n g (dz'ung);
[124] s h i (d'jər)	in [125] n a i (nād);
[126] t s i (dz'jər)	in [127] n i e (ngjat);
[128] l i (lǝp)	in [129] y ü (dǝk);
[130] f u (pǝwo)	in [131] y u (zǝg);
[132] h a i (g'ād)	in [133] h i e n (χǝān);
[134] n u (no)	in [135] n a o (nōg);
[136] y i (ǝǝk)	in [137] y i (dǝǝt);
[138] y i (ǝǝk)	in [139] k ü a n (kiwan);
[140] p i (pǝǝg)	in [141] p' i n (b'ǝǝn);

<sup>1)</sup> See B. Karlgren, *Compendium of Phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese*, BMFEA, No. 22, 1954. In this summary the linguistic reasons for the reconstructions are given, point for point, detail after detail — there is not a single conclusion that is not supported by more or less strong arguments. Details in the system may have to be modified, but the system as whole is, I believe, sufficiently solid to serve for the purpose of the present investigation. A curious attempt to reconstruct Arch. values of the most eccentric kinds has recently been made by Professor E. G. Pulleyblank, see the Postscript to our present article.

[142] h u o ( <i>g'wǎ</i> )	in [143] w e i ( <i>'iǵǎ</i> );
[144] s ü ( <i>sǵǵǎ</i> )	in [145] w e i ( <i>'iǵǎ</i> );
[146] y ü ( <i>'ǵo</i> )	in [147] o ( <i>'ǵt</i> );
[148] k u e i ( <i>kǵǵǎ</i> )	in [149] t' u e i ( <i>d'ǵǎ</i> );
[150] s h i ( <i>sǵǎ</i> )	in [151] y e ( <i>dǵǎ</i> ).

These examples may suffice to show Hŭ's extreme ignorance of the Arch. phonology. The list could easily be prolonged.

There is, however, a special group of alleged Hs in the Shuowen which need further examination:

1. [152] h o ( <i>g'ǵp</i> )	Phon. in [153] t a ( <i>tǵp</i> );
2. [154] p i n g ( <i>pǵǵ</i> )	in [155] k e n g ( <i>kǵǵ</i> );
3. [156] s h o u ( <i>sǵǵ</i> )	in [157] k' i a o ( <i>g'ǵǵ</i> );
4. [158] w e i ( <i>mǵǵǎ</i> )	in [159] s i ( <i>sǵǎ</i> );
5. [160] k e n g ( <i>kǵǵ</i> )	in [161] t' a n g ( <i>d'ǵǵ</i> );
6. [162] t u e i ( <i>tǵǎ</i> )	in [163] k u e i ( <i>kǵǵǎ</i> );
7. [164] k a o ( <i>kǵǵ</i> )	in [165] t s' a o ( <i>t s'ǵǵ</i> );
8. [166] j e n ( <i>nǵǵǎ</i> )	in [167] t s' i e n ( <i>t s'ǵǵǎ</i> );
9. [168] y i n ( <i>dǵǵǎ</i> )	in [169] s h u n ( <i>sǵǵǎ</i> );
10. [170] s h u ( <i>dǵǵ</i> )	in [171] k u ( <i>kǵo</i> );
11. [172] h a o ( <i>g'ǵǵ</i> )	in [173] t' a o ( <i>t'ǵǵ</i> );
12. [174] t s i ( <i>t sǵǵǵ</i> )	in [175] l i ( <i>lǵǵǵ</i> );
13. [176] s h a o ( <i>sǵǵǵ</i> )	in [177] m i a o ( <i>mǵǵǵ</i> );
14. [178] m a o ( <i>mǵǵǵ</i> )	in [179] j o u ( <i>nǵǵǵ</i> );
15. [180] k i n ( <i>kǵǵm</i> )	in [181] t' a n ( <i>t'ǵm</i> );
16. [182] y a ( <i>nǵǵ</i> )	in [183] s i e ( <i>dǵǵǵ</i> );
17. [184] h u ( <i>ǵo</i> )	in [185] l u ( <i>lǵo</i> );
18. [186] t s' i e n ( <i>t s'ǵǵǎ</i> )	in [187] n i e n ( <i>nǵǵǎ</i> );
19. [188] y ü ( <i>nǵǵǵo</i> )	in [189] s u ( <i>sǵo</i> );
20. [190] y ü ( <i>gǵǵwo</i> )	in [191] s h u ( <i>sǵǵo</i> );
21. [192] t o ( <i>tǵ</i> )	in [193] y i ( <i>nǵǵǵa</i> );
22. [194] k a o ( <i>kǵǵ</i> )	in [195] y a o ( <i>dǵǵǵ</i> );
23. [196] p i ( <i>pǵǵǎ</i> )	in [197] n i ( <i>nǵǵǎ</i> );
24. [198] c h a o ( <i>tǵǵǵ</i> )	in [199] m i a o ( <i>mǵǵǵ</i> );
25. [200] s h a o ( <i>dǵǵǵk</i> )	in [201] p a o ( <i>pǵǵk</i> );
26. [202] k i a o ( <i>kǵǵǵ</i> )	in [203] p o ( <i>pǵǵk</i> );
27. [204] e r ( <i>nǵǵǵǵ</i> )	in [205] c h' i ( <i>t'ǵǵǵǵ</i> );
28. [206] c h u e i ( <i>tǵǵǵǵǎ</i> )	in [207] h u a i ( <i>g'ǵǵǵǵ</i> );
29. [208] k' i ( <i>g'ǵǵǵǵ</i> )	in [209] s i ( <i>sǵǵǵǵ</i> );
30. [210] y ü a n ( <i>nǵǵǵǵǎ</i> )	in [211] t s' ü a n ( <i>t s'ǵǵǵǵǎ</i> );

In this list, the examples 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29 are, in fact, all H u e i y i (compound ideograms), see Gr. S.R.

The one feature common to all these instances is that the finals (all the rest of the syllables after subtraction of the initials) are either homophonous or at least phonetically fairly similar, but that the initials show a glaring discrepancy. This is highly suspect, for if we examine the ordinary Hs series such as the [212] series above, or for instance:

212 辟 213 合 214 哈 215 哈 216 洽 217 洽 218 哈 219 翁 220 單 221 單 222 單 223 單 224 單  
225 單 226 單 227 單 228 支 229 支

[213] *g'əp*, [214] *kəp*, [215] *kəp*, [216] *g'əp*, [217] *kɿäp*, [218] *kɿəp*, [219] *ɣɿəp*;  
[220] *tán*, [221] *t'án*, [222] *d'án*, [223] *íjan*, [224] *í'ian*, [225] *íjan*, [226] *íiar*, [227] *d'ár*, we never find, inside a series, labials being intermixed with dentals or dentals with gutturals or such-like. In each series there are either all labial initials, or all dentals and palatals (*t : t'*), or all gutturals and laryngals. In the 1236 principal groups in the Gr. S.R. (with more than 6000 Hs readings) there are 10 groups in which there is a limited interchange between palatal explosives (*í* etc.) and gutturals (*k* etc.), e.g. [228] *íiəg* Phonetic in [229] *g'íiəg*, and a score of other groups in which there are some very rare and sporadic intermixtures of other initial classes.

In other words, we do not find a *pəo* (*póg*) as phonetic in a *kəo* (*kóg*) or *vice versa*; nor a *tán* (*tán*) phonetic in a *kán* (*kán*), or a *pán* (*pwán*). The instances that can be cited in proof of this assertion are not a few score only but thousands of cases, and this throws a very serious doubt on Hsü Shen's Hs cases above. Many of them can easily be explained as *Huei yi* (compound ideograms), as already stated. The remainder of his instances, which defy a natural analysis, are indeed far too few to vouchsafe an acceptance of a principle that a *póg* could be Phonetic (i.e. Kt) in a *kóg*, etc. And yet, Hsü's ideas in these cases have been detrimental to Chinese philology, for on the strength of the example set by the revered Hsü later scholars have been very bold in posing Kt of this kind (*póg* Kt for *kóg* etc.). Thus, for instance, the works of Chu Tsün-sheng and (in recent times) Ma Sü-lun abound with such proposals of Kt, which are, in fact, quite unacceptable, since the thousands of authorized Kt preserved in the shape of Hs characters clearly refute them.

Let us sum up: The Kt (loan character) cases belonging to categories A and B and those embodied in the Hs series will not be tested in this paper, since they give occasion for no phonetic objection. From the phonetic point of view we have reason to deal only with categories C (夫 *píwo* used for *b'íwo*, which latter has no character of its own) and D (殄 *d'ian* used for 月英 *t'ian*). Since, however, in cat. C. there is nearly always close phonetic similarity between the loan word and the word for which it serves, our discussion below will practically always concern proposed Kt of the category D.

Before entering upon this scrutiny we should tabulate what the H i e - s h e n g (Hs) characters ("authorized Kt") teach us about the latitude of phonetic variation permissible in a Kt. For the extensive materials which form the basis of these tables we refer to the *Grammata Serica Recensa*.

## Initials

There are seven groups to be distinguished here:

- A. *k, k', g, g', ng, χ, '.*
- B. *ī, ī', d, d', s, t, t', d, d'.*
- C. *ts, ts', dz, dz', z, s, tɕ, tɕ', dʒ', ʃ.*
- D. *ń, n.*
- E. *l.*
- F. *p, p', b'.*
- G. *m.*

Inside each group there is a frequent interchange in the Hs. A *kán* can be Phonetic (i.e. Kt) in a *k'án* or a *g'án* or a *gian*, or a *ngán* or a *χán* or a *'án*; and likewise a *k'án* can be Phonetic in a *kán*; a *ngán* in a *χán* or a *'án*; a *gian* in a *k'ian* etc. On the other hand, a word with initial of group A cannot be Phonetic in the graph for a word with initial of group B or group C etc.; thus a *kán* is not Phonetic in a *tán*, a *tsán*, a *nán*, a *lán* etc.

This general rule is not absolute. Some exceptions do occur, but they are rare. Most of them are occasional contacts between A and B, a 支 *īĕg* being Phonetic in a 技 *g'īĕg*, as already mentioned above. There are also, quite sporadically, some contacts between B and C (a 著 *īĭd* Phon. in a 緒 *dzīĭd*). But in a quite overwhelming majority of cases the general rule just stated holds good.

## Finals

In our table below we disregard the thousands of cases where the Phonetic and the Hs have the same Arch. final (*kán* Phon. in *k'án*, *g'án* etc.) and limit the demonstration to cases where there is a difference in final between the two members (a *kán* Phon. in a *kăn* or a *kĭan* etc.). The material is to be found in the *Grammata Serica Recensa* under the Phonetics recorded here.

As a general rule, *k' a i - k' o u* words (those without medial *w*) and *h o - k' o u* words (those with *w*) do not mix in the Hs series. Usually a *kán* is not Phon. in a *kuán* or *vice versa*. There are, however, a small number of exceptions from this rule; they have been indicated here by the aberrant forms being placed in brackets. Some aberrations of other kinds have been placed in parenthesis. They are so rare as to form only some 2% of the many thousands of Hs characters.

1. 干孰幹仇旱寒安單重旦丹難贊姜散    2 晏    3 閒東山采  
 4 庸彖焉延賤羨孱鮮反辨弁免    5 建言獻匿    6 开肩前扁  
 丙    7 官崔貫丸豆完奐端彖算繼半潘般錄萌    8 罷    9  
 卷冒冃專島泉空奕    10 爰袁元原宛宛反番樛曼萬    11 縣靈  
 12 昌刺    13 殺    14 臬折薛离列    15 歌謁    16 競    17  
 咎(舍)奪死发末    18 威毀絕紆    19 厥牟戌曰月發伐    20 夫  
 21 臼害帶大羌賴    22 介    23 甄制世祭喪世厲狀    24 乂  
 25 契    26 會光最貝    27 衛魏歲    28 此爾彌弭    29 果妥  
 哀    30 委    31 因貞中身迅薺賓    32 取天    33 勻句    34  
 玄    35 吉壹質失日即七泰必    36 節    37 穴血    38 至寔  
 39 閉    40 艮    41 斤欣殷今辰刀民寅    42 殄光    43 董  
 44 聖    45 𣎵盟敦志尻尊存其責奔門昏(昏)    46 畢君云熏享盾  
 發宥允命分焚文    47 圉    48 乞疾    49 骨兀卒孛    50 出  
 屈率弗市率勿    51 高    52 唆束    53 利勑界既气    54 庚  
 55 由對    56 貴胃尉蒙瑩類未    57 惠    58 季    59 豈衣雉  
 夷旨示弟次矢空尼匕比    60 低弟齊西米    61 皆    62 耆  
 63 自崔    64 鬼歸韋旭畏威迫佳品累非    65 襄淮    66 葵  
 67 甘敢    68 監    69 斬覓    70 衮奄奔厥炎占詹錢結毋    71  
 欠嚴    72 兼    73 凡    74 盍    75 夾缶    76 取葉妻畿  
 77 扇    78 乏    79 去    80 覃窗智    81 今金音林尤甚參曼  
 朶    82 念    83 咸    84 禽    85 合答    86 反邑執聃習立  
 入集    87 元印湯堂倉    88 鄉享央易長尚井襄良    89 庚行  
 90 竟京明皿    91 光廣黃皇旁    92 王方亡狂    93 兄    94  
 各噩号橐乍朔博溥霽幕    95 谷若    96 赫七宅擇白    97 莠  
 畢斥赤石昔措馮亦    98 蓰    99 莫度    100 庶    101 亞    102  
 射救夜    103 屨    104 耕耿幸爭生    105 嬰鄭正聖令并平名  
 106 堅丁壬廷厓青考屏冥    107 頃榮    108 榮    109 厄責    110  
 益易辟    111 穀禹    112 畫脈    113 支吳雷束斯虎兒卑庠    114

麗 115 圭嵩 116 登曾 11 崩朋能 117 微朕(2) 118 右 119  
 夢 120 則塞北 121 亟弋式直哉食曼即力 122 國 123 或  
 洩 124 畱反 125 亥咲待貸才乃音母 126 異疑意治台梓已  
 飲寺思里輕耳而備 127 戒 128 某每 129 殷 130 九右有  
 不 131 冬宗養 132 彤虫眾充 133 降 134 毒 135 畜竹  
 賣祝逐龜肅宿示叔倭復 136 威 137 學 138 告巧奧甸蚤造  
 冒 139 白咎琴休肘丑攸由岳脩周帝奇就秋酋柔矛年 140 條  
 么 141 叉包卯 142 雀 143 約命勺爵弱劑 144 翟 145  
 樂車 146 高号教蒿力到勞暴毛 147 喬天岳召兆焦育祭擾影  
 栗苗 148 敦堯弔 149 交交敲孝巢燕貌 150 尸彪 151 工  
 童恩空 152 共玗雍甬庸重松從春龍封丰峯逢奉 153 江因  
 154 谷屋族桑卜業 155 獄豕足東辱蜀 156 角殼軟軟 157 泰  
 叟戊 158 孚救 159 匪 160 可戎多它(屯也)左 161 加差沙  
 麻 162 奇皮 163 戈隋坐羸 164 禹化 165 爲垂 166 下  
 西 167 者邪 168 古吾吳午於土盧且祖奴盧 169 旅許余予  
 房女 170 瓜夸 171 瓠 172 巨于夫父甫無 173 句斗豆  
 174 區婁禺俞朱主爰取舅

1. *án*: — *an, ǎn, ÿan, ǎn, ÿan; ár, ÿar; ǎr [wán, wan] (át).*
2. *an*: — *ǎn, ÿan (at).*
3. *ǎn*: — *an, ÿan [ǎwán, wár].*
4. *ÿan*: — *án, an, ǎn, ÿan [wán, ǎwan, ǎwán, wən, ǎwən; wər].*
5. *ǎn*: — *ÿan, ÿan; ǎn, ǎn (át, at, ǎt).*
6. *ian*: — *an, ǎn, ÿan; ǎn [wan] (iad).*
7. *wán*: — *wan, ǎwan, ǎwán; wár, ǎwar, ǎwár; wən [an, ÿan] (ǎwad).*
8. *wan*: — *ǎwan, ǎwan.*
9. *ǎwan*: — *wán, wan, ǎwán, ǎwan.*
10. *ǎwán*: — *wán, wan, wán, ǎwan; wár; ǎwən [an, ÿan] (wad, ǎwát, ǎwət).*
11. *ǎwan*: — *[ian] (ǎwəng).*
12. *át*: — *at, ǎt, ǎt; ád, ad, ǎd.*
13. *ǎt*: — *át, ǎt.*
14. *ǎt*: — *át, ǎt; ǎd, iad.*
15. *ǎt*: — *át; ád.*
16. *iat*: — *[ǎwát].*

17. *wāt*: — *wat*, *wāt*, *īwāt*; *īwæt*; *wād*, *wad*, *īwād*.
18. *īwat*: — *wāt*, *wat*; *īwad*; [*īat*].
19. *īwāt*: — *wāt*, *wat*; *wæt*, *īwet*; *wād*, *īwad*, *īwād*.
  
20. *īwat*: — *īwat*; *wad*.
21. *ād*: — *ad*, *īad*, *iad*; *āt*, *at*, *āt* [*wāt*].
22. *īd*: — *ad*, *iad*; *āt*.
23. *īad*: — *ād*, *ād*, *āt*, *āt*, *īat*, *iat* [*īwat*].
24. *īād*: — *ād*.
25. *iad*: — *ad*, *īad*; *īat*, *iat*.
26. *wād*: — *wad*, *wād*, *īwad*; *wāt*, *īwat* (*wār*, *wān*).
27. *īwad*: — *wād*, *wad*, *īwād*; *wāt*, *īwat*, *īwāt*.
  
28. *īār*: — *ār*, *īar*; *īan* (*īat*, *ia*).
29. *wār*: — *īwār*, *war*, *īwār*; *wān*.
30. *īwār*: — *wār*.
  
31. *īēn*: — *ien*; *īēr* [*īwēn*, *iwen*] (*ən*).
32. *ien*: — *īēn* (*ən*).
33. *īwēn*: — *iwen*.
34. *iwen*: — [*ien*]. (*wsn*).
  
35. *īēt*: — *iet*; *īēd*, *ied* (*āt*).
36. *iet*: — *īēt*.
37. *īwet*: — *īwēt* (*wæt*).
  
38. *īēd*: — *ied*; *īēt*, *iet*.
39. *ied*: — *iet*.
  
40. *ən*: — *īən*, *en*, *īen*.
  
41. *īən*: — *īar*; *en*, *īān*, *īan* [*wən*, *īwən*, *īwen*] (*īēn*, *īat*).
42. *īən*: — *īən*, *īen*; *īar* (*īat*).
43. *en*: — *īen*, *īən*.
44. *īen*: — *īən*.
45. *wən*: — *īwən*, *iwen*, *īwen*; *war*; *wān*, *īwan* [*īən*, *īən*, *īān*] (*īār*).
46. *īwən*: — *wən*, *īwen*; *war*, *īwār*; *wān*, *īwan*, *īwān* [*īən*, *en*] (*wæt*).
47. *īwen*: — *īwən*.
  
48. *īat*: — *īat*; *īad* [*wæt*].
49. *wæt*: — *īwæt*, *wet*; *īwāt*; *wād*, *īwād*.
50. *īwæt*: — *wæt*; *wāt*, *īwat*, *īwāt*; *īwād*; *wād*, *īwad* [*īat*] (*īwən*).
51. *īwet*: — *wet*, *īwæt*; *īwed*.



52. *æd*: — *ǣd*, *iæd*.  
 53. *ǣd*: — *æd*, *ǣd*; *ǣad*, *iad* (*ǣr*, *iær*).  
 54. *iæd*: — [*iwæd*].  
 55. *wæd*: — *iwæd* [*ed*].  
 56. *iwæd*: — *wæd*, *iwæd*; *iwæt*, *wed*, *iwed*; *iwad* [*ǣd*].  
 57. *iwæd*: — *iwad*.  
 58. *iwed*: — *wed*, *wæd*, *iwæd*.
59. *ǣr*: — *iær*, *ær*, *ǣr*; *ǣr*; *ǣn* (*ǣt*, *iwæn*).  
 60. *iær*: — *ǣr*, *er*; *ǣr*; *ǣn* (*ǣt*).  
 61. *er*: — (*et*).  
 62. *ǣr*: — *ǣr*.  
 63. *wær*: — *iwær*; *iwær*.  
 64. *iwær*: — *wær*, *wer*, *iwær*; *wær*, *iwær* [*ǣr*, *er*, *ǣr*].  
 65. *wer*: — *wær*.  
 66. *iwær*: — *iwær* (*iwæt*).
67. *ām*: — *ām*, *iam*, *ǣm*, *əm*.  
 68. *am*: — *ām*.  
 69. *ām*: — *ām*, *am*, *iam*.  
 70. *iam*: — *ām*, *ām*, *ǣm*, *iam*; *əm*; *ap*, *iap*, *iap*.  
 71. *ǣm*: — *ām*, *iam*, *iam*, *əm*.  
 72. *iam*: — *ām*, *iam*; *iap*.  
 73. *iwām*: — *ǣm*, *ūm*.
74. *āp*: — *ap*, *iap*, *əp* (*āb* > *ād*).  
 75. *ǣp*: — *ap*, *iap*, *iap*.  
 76. *iap*: — *ap*, *ǣp*, *iap*.  
 77. *iap*: — *ǣp*.  
 78. *iwǣp*: — *iwām*, *əm*, *iam*, *ǣm*.  
 79. *iab*: — *ǣp*, *iap*, *iwǣp*.
80. *əm*: — *ǣm*, *iəm*, *em*, *ǣm*; *ām*; *əp*.  
 81. *ǣm*: — *əm*, *ǣm*.  
 82. *iəm*: — *ǣm*; *ǣp*.  
 83. *em*: — *əm*, *ǣm*.  
 84. *ǣm*: — *əm*, *ǣm*.
85. *əp*: — *ǣp*, *ep*; *ǣp*, *āp*.  
 86. *ǣp*: — *əp*, *iəp*, *ǣp*; *ǣb*; *iəm* (*wəb* > *wæd*: *wat*, *iwat*, *iwad*).
87. *āng*: — *āng*, *ǣng*.  
 88. *ǣng*: — *āng*, *āng*, *ǣng*.  
 89. *āng*: — *āng* [*wāng*].

90. *ǣng*: — *ǣng*, *ǣng*; *ǣk* [*ǣwǣng*].  
 91. *wǣng*: — *wǣng* [*ǣng*].  
 92. *ǣwang*: — *wǣng* [*ǣng*].  
 93. *ǣwǣng*: — *wǣng*, *ǣwang*.
94. *ǣk*: — *ǣk*, *ǣk*; *ǣg*, *ǣg* [*ǣwak*] (*ek*).  
 95. *ǣk*: — *ǣk* (*ǣk*, *ǣk*).  
 96. *ǣk*: — *ǣk*; *ǣg*, *ǣg*; *ǣk*.  
 97. *ǣk*: — *ǣk*, *ǣk*, *ǣk*; *ǣg*, *ǣg*, *ǣg*, *ǣg*.  
 98. *wǣk*: — *wǣk*, *ǣwak*; *wǣg*, *wǣg*.
99. *ǣg*: — *ǣk*; *ǣk*, *ǣk*.  
 100. *ǣg*: — *ǣg*; *ǣk*.  
 101. *ǣg*: — *ǣg*, *ǣg*; *ǣk*, *ǣk*, *ǣk*.  
 102. *ǣg*: — *ǣk*.  
 103. *ǣwag*: — [*ǣk*, *ǣk*].
104. *ǣng*: — *ǣng*, *ǣng* [*ǣweng*].  
 105. *ǣng*: — *ǣng*, *ǣng* (*ǣk*; *ǣn*, *ǣn*).  
 106. *ǣng*: — *ǣng*, *ǣng* (*ǣk*; *ǣn*, *ǣn*).  
 107. *ǣwǣng*: — *wǣng*, *ǣweng* [*ǣng*].  
 108. *ǣweng*: — *wǣng*, *ǣwǣng* [*ǣng*].
109. *ǣk*: — *ǣk*, *ǣk*; *ǣg*, *ǣg*.  
 110. *ǣk*: — *ǣk*, *ǣk*; *ǣg*, *ǣg*, *ǣg*.  
 111. *ǣk*: — *ǣk*; *ǣg*.  
 112. *wǣk*: — *wǣg* [*ǣk*].
113. *ǣg*: — *ǣg*, *ǣg*; *ǣk*, *ǣk*, *ǣk* [*ǣwǣg*, *ǣweng*] (*ǣg*, *ǣk*; *ǣng*).  
 114. *ǣg*: — *ǣg*, *ǣg*.  
 115. *ǣweng*: — *wǣg*, *ǣwǣg* [*ǣg*] (*wǣg*).
116. *ǣng*: — *ǣng*, *ǣng*; *ǣg*.  
 117. *ǣng*: — *ǣng*; *ǣg* (*ǣk*, *ǣm*).  
 118. *wǣng*: — *wǣng*, *ǣng*.  
 119. *ǣng*: — *wǣng*, *wǣng*, *ung* (*wǣng*).
120. *ǣk*: — *ǣk*; *ǣg* [*wǣg*].  
 121. *ǣk*: — *ǣk*, *ǣk*; *ǣg*, *ǣg* (*ǣk*).  
 122. *wǣk*: — *ǣwak*, *wǣk*.  
 123. *ǣwak*: — *wǣk*, *wǣk*, *ǣk*, *ǣwak*; *ǣwag* (*ǣwak*).  
 124. *ǣk*: — *ǣk*, *ǣk*, *ǣk*; *ǣg*.

125. *əg*: — *ɨəg*, *eg*, *ɨǔg*; *ək*, *ek* [*wəg*] (*ɨəng*, *ǔng*).  
 126. *ɨəg*: — *əg*, *eg*, *ɨǔg*; *ək*, *ɨək*, *ek*, *ɨǔk* [*wəg*, *weg*] (*ɨəng*, *əng*).  
 127. *eg*: — *əg*.  
 128. *wəg*: — [*əg*].  
 129. *ɨwəg*: — *ɨǔg*, *wəg*.  
 130. *ɨǔg*: — *ǔg*, *ɨəg*, *ɨwəg*, *wəg*; *ɨǔk* [*əg*] (*ɨóg*, *óg*, *óg*, *ɨuk*).  
  
 131. *ónɡ*: — *ɨónɡ*, *ung*.  
 132. *ɨónɡ*: — *ónɡ*, *ung*.  
 133. *ónɡ*: — *ónɡ*, *ɨónɡ*, *ung*.  
  
 134. *ók*: — *óg*.  
 135. *ɨók*: — *ók*, *íók*, *uk*, *ɨuk*; *óg*, *ɨóg*, *íóg*; *ug* (*ɨək*).  
 136. *íók*: — *ɨók*.  
 137. *ók*: — *óg*.  
  
 138. *óg*: — *ɨóg*, *óg*, *og*, *íog*; *ók*, *íók*, *íók* (*ək*).  
 139. *ɨóg*: — *óg*, *óg*, *íóg*, *íog*, *ɨóg*; *íók*, *íók*; *ug*, *ɨug*; *uk* (*ǔg*, *ǔk*, *ɨǔg*).  
 140. *íóg*: — *óg*, *ɨóg*.  
 141. *óg*: — *óg*, *ɨóg*, *íog*; *ug*; *ók*, *íók*.  
  
 142. *ok*: — *ók*, *ák*.  
 143. *ɨok*: — *íok*, *ók*; *íog*, *íog* (*ɨug*).  
 144. *íok*: — *ɨok*, *ók*; *íog*, *íog*, *óg*.  
 145. *ók*: — *ok*, *ɨok*, *íok*, *ák*; *óg*, *og*, *íog*.  
  
 146. *og*: — *íog*, *íog*, *óg*; *ok*, *ók*, *ák* (*uk*).  
 147. *ɨog*: — *og*, *íog*, *óg*, *ɨóg*; *ɨok*, *ok*, *ók*; *ɨóg*.  
 148. *íog*: — *ɨog*, *og*, *óg*; *íok*.  
 149. *óg*: — *og*, *ɨog*, *íog*; *ók*.  
 150. *ɨóg*: — *íog* (*ɨóg*, *íóg*, *óg*).  
  
 151. *ung*: — *ɨung*, *ǔng*, *ónɡ*.  
 152. *ɨung*: — *ung*, *ǔng*, *ɨónɡ*.  
 153. *ǔng*: — *ung*.  
  
 154. *uk*: — *ɨuk*, *ǔk*, *ók*; *ug*, *ɨug*, *ɨóg*.  
 155. *ɨuk*: — *uk*, *ǔk*; *ug*, *ǔg*, *ɨug* (*ɨung*).  
 156. *ǔk*: — *uk*, *ɨuk*; *ǔg*, *ug*, *ɨóg* (*ɨu*).  
  
 157. *ug*: — *óg*, *ɨóg*, *íóg*.  
 158. *ɨug*: — *ug*, *ǔg*, *uk*, *ǔk*; *ɨóg*, *óg* (*íog*, *wəg*).  
 159. *ǔg*: — *ǔk*.

160. *á*: — *a*, *ia*, *ia* [*wá*].  
 161. *a*: — *á*, *ia*, *ia* [*wá*].  
 162. *ia*: — [*wá*].  
 163. *wá*: — *wa*, *wia* [*a*].  
 164. *wa*: — *wá*.  
 165. *wia*: — *wá*.  
 166. *ó*: — *o*.  
 167. *íó*: — *o*, *io*.  
 168. *o*: — *io*, *á*, *ia* [*íwo*].  
 169. *io*: — *o*, *á*, *ia*.  
 170. *wó*: — *wo*, *íwo*.  
 171. *wo*: — *wó*.  
 172. *íwo*: — *wo* [*io*].  
 173. *u*: — *iu*.  
 174. *iu*: — *u* (*íung*, *íóg*).

These tables of finals speak for themselves and need no detailed commentary. Only a few fundamental facts of paramount importance to our inquiry about the Kt loans should be emphasized.

In the first place, the words with *-n*, *-t*, *-d*, *-r* finals do not mix in the Hs ("authorized Kt") with words having *-m*, *-p*, *-b* finals, nor with words having *-ng*, *-k*, *-g* finals. And the words with *-m*, *-p*, *-b* finals do not go together with those having *-ng*, *-k*, *-g* finals. This simple fact refutes hundreds of Kt proposed by various Chinese scholars who believe that similarity in initials sufficed to motivate a Kt (e.g. *tán* for *táng*, *kjət* for *kjəp* and so on).

In the second place, there is a considerable interchange in the Hs between words of the *án* class (rimes 1—30) and words of the *ən* class (rimes 40—66); likewise between words of the *ám* class (rimes 67—79) and words of the *əm* class (rimes 80—86). But, curiously enough, there is no corresponding interchange between words of the *áng* class (rimes 87—103) and words of the *əng* class (rimes 116—130).

In the third place, the words of the *en* class (rimes 31—39) have, as a rule, no interchange with words of the *án* class (rimes 1—30), nor with words of the *ən* class (rimes 40—66).

The above tables, which record the initials and finals that interchange in the Hs series and thus illustrate the degree of phonetic similarity ordinarily required for a Kt, make it easy to verify at a glance whether a proposed Kt is phonetically plausible or not. Thus, when for instance Kuo Mo-jo proposes that in bronze inscriptions a *tsák* (𠩺 𠩺) is Kt for a *tsək* (則) it is easy to refute the theory: the table of finals shows that words ending in *-ák* do not serve as Phonetics (Kt) in words ending in *-ək* (nor *-áng* words in *-əng* words). In such instances we shall not need any verbose argument; we simply indicate by the word "Reject" that the Kt proposed is improbable or even impossible from a phonetic point of view.

A few words should be added about the selection of Kt cases to be discussed below.

On principle, we have excluded *nomina propria* and place names from the materials, because in regard to them there is a greater risk of dialectal variations of reading causing confusion. Thus, for instance, Tso: Sūan 8 records the burial in Lu of Princess King Ying 敬嬴 Arch. *Kiěng Diěng*, whereas Kung-yang and Ku-liang both render the name K'ing Hiung 頃熊 Arch. *K'iwěng Gium*. She was a lady of the princely house of Ch'u. The dialect of Ch'u certainly differed considerably from that of the Chung Kuo "Central states" (*Kiěng*: *K'iwěng* were evidently the same name, whereas the clan of the Ch'u house must have had something like *Diěng* and *Gium* as alternative names).

Except for this limitation, our examples are chosen from a great many works about the pre-Han texts. A complete registration of all Kt proposed by Chinese scholars is of course out of the question: many thousands of proposals about Kt have been published in various works. The materials, however, have to be comprehensive in order to be conclusive. We have culled our examples on the one hand from Cheng Hüan and other authoritative Han commentators and, to a smaller extent from T'ang and Sung commentators, on the other hand from a pleiad of great Ts'ing scholars, Tuan Yü-ts'ai, Wang Nien-sun, Wang Yin-chi, Ho Yi-hang, Ch'en Huan, Ma Juei-ch'en, Kiang Sheng, Sun Sing-yen, Liu Pao-nan, Tsiao Sün, Chu Tsün-sheng, Yü Yüe, Liu Sin-yüan, Sun Yi-jang etc., and, in the third place, from some typical representatives of recent scholarship in China: Kuo Mo-jo, Yang Shu-ta, Yü Sing-wu, Ma Sü-lun and others.

In regard to two of them: Chu Tsün-sheng (in his rightly famous *Shuo wen t'ung hün ting sheng*) and Ma Sü-lun (in writings on Lao and Chuang, books which seem to be highly esteemed in China) it must be added that only a small selection has been made here from the thousands of Kt proposed by them (a great many being wild speculations).<sup>1)</sup>

### Postscript

A few words should be said about an article by Professor E. G. Pulleyblank (Asia Major 1961) in which he proposes various amendments to my reconstruction of Anc. Chinese (Suei time) and a large number of reconstructions of his own concerning Arch. Chinese.

The argumentation is largely based on Chinese transcriptions of foreign words, mostly Central-Asian and Indian. This is a very risky method. On the one hand, they are sometimes based on pure Sanskrit, sometimes on strongly Prakritized forms learned in Central Asia, and when guessing, in the individual cases, which is which, we are on highly unsafe ground. On the other hand, and above all, the transcriptions can only be used to a limited extent. Some general phenomena can be gleaned but

<sup>1)</sup> It is highly curious to find that in Morohashi's new monumental Chinese-Japanese dictionary *Dai Kan Wa jiten* (nearly 49.000 closely printed pages) all the Kt speculations of Chu Tsün-sheng's have been uncritically incorporated.

details in the ancient Chinese pronunciation cannot be ascertained through them, for the well-known reason that the Chinese equivalents have mostly been chosen in an unsystematic, careless and approximate way.

Pulleyblank's reconstruction system for Ancient Chinese has two fatal faults.

In the first place he has introduced a series of diphthongs for which there is not the slightest foundation neither in the modern dialects nor in the ancient foreign dialects:

耕 *aeng* 咸 *aem* 山 *aen* 省 *aɛ* (sic!) 江 *aung* 模 *ou* 之 *iə*.

These eccentricities, which concern large numbers of words, should, of course, be rejected.

In the second place, and even more disastrous, his reconstructions often run counter to the clearest testimonies of the pertinent sources.

1. For the "4th division" of the famous rime tables Pb. declines the medial *i*.

2. In rime 侵 I had posed *iəm*, Pb. poses *iim*.

3. In rime 咍 I had posed (*di*) Pb. poses *ai*. ^  
a<sup>h</sup>

4. For the initial class 匣 I had posed Anc. *ɣ-*, Pb. poses the voiced laryngal: *ɦ* (as in the Wu dialects).

In all these cases, which likewise concern very large categories of words, his constructions are refuted by the Anc. foreign dialects:

Kgn. Pb. S-Cor. Kanon Goon S-Ann.

見 *kien* *ken* *kiən* *kiən*

經 *kieng* *keng* *kiəng* *kiyau* *kin*

計 *kiei* *kei* *kie*

今 *kjəm* *kjim* *kim* *kon* *kəm*

該 *kdi* *kəi* *kai* *kai* (*ke*) *kai*

寒 *yan* *han* *kan* *gan*

With Pulleyblank's reconstructions the Ancient forms in the foreign dialects will be entirely inexplicable. It is unnecessary to go into further details.

From Pulleyblank's reconstructions of Archaic Chinese forms we may select a few examples:

1. 四 2 水 3 邪 4 歛侯 5 于 6 位 7 指 8 挑 9 制  
10 午 11 諸 12 白 13 致 14 祥 15 初 16 雇 17 侯 18 襲  
19 及 20 罪 21 鼻 22 少 23 歲 24 黑 25 肩 26 跂 27 鐵  
28 夜 29 無 30 呬 31 車 32 泊 33 攄 34 蠆 35 激 36 緊

1. Anc. (Kgn. *si*) Pb. *si* < *sɿls*

2. Anc. (Kgn. *ɬwi*) Pb. *ɬiwi* < *θwēd* < *θuδ*

3. Anc. (Kgn. *zja*) Pb. *zja* < *ɣdēāɦ*

4. Anc. (Kgn. *ɦjəp-ɣzu*) Pb. *ɦjəp-ɦu* < *ɦhēāp-goɦ*

5. Anc. (Kgn. *j̄i*u) Pb. *ḡiou* < *ḡwāḡ*
6. Anc. (Kgn. *j̄wi*) Pb. *ḡiwi* < *ḡwlīps*
7. Anc. (Kgn. *t̄si*) Pb. *c̄i* < *kēd̄*
8. Anc. (Kgn. *d'ieu*) Pb. *deu* < *ḡeauḡ*
9. Anc. (Kgn. *t̄s̄i*di) Pb. *c̄iei* < *kēāts*
10. Anc. (Kgn. *nguo*) Pb. *you* < *s̄ya*
11. Anc. (Kgn. *t̄s̄i*wo) Pb. *c̄io* < *tāḡ*
12. Anc. (Kgn. *γām*) Pb. *ḡaəm* < *ḡwlemh*
13. Anc. (Kgn. *īi*) Pb. *t̄i* < *tl̄its*
14. Anc. (Kgn. *z̄iang*) Pb. *z̄iang* < *s(g)ḡāḡ*
15. Anc. (Kgn. *t̄s̄i*wo) Pb. *t̄s̄i*o < *tshlāḡ*
16. Anc. (Kgn. *kuo*) Pb. *kou* < *skah*
17. Anc. (Kgn. *d̄s̄i*) Pb. *z̄i* < *s̄ḡli*
18. Anc. (Kgn. *s̄iat*) Pb. *s̄iet* < *snhēāt*
19. Anc. (Kgn. *g'j̄ap*) Pb. *k̄i*p < *(s)klēp*
20. Anc. (Kgn. *d̄z'u*q̄i) Pb. *dzu*xi < *sbḡḡḡ*
21. Anc. (Kgn. *b'j̄i*) Pb. *byi* < *b(ḡ)ḡts*
22. Anc. (Kgn. *s̄i*āu) Pb. *s̄ieu* < *m̄hēāu*
23. Anc. (Kgn. *s̄i*wāi) Pb. *s̄iwei* < *shwāts*
24. Anc. (Kgn. *χək*) Pb. *hək* < *fik*
25. Anc. (Kgn. *siet*) Pb. *set* < *fḡet*
26. Anc. (Kgn. *g'j̄ie*) Pb. *gye* < *gḡēḡ*
27. Anc. (Kgn. *t'iet*) Pb. *thet* < *ḡek*
28. Anc. (Kgn. *īa*) Pb. *ya* < *ḡāks*
29. Anc. (Kgn. *m̄i*u) Pb. *m̄iou* < *māḡ*
30. Anc. (Kgn. *s̄i*) Pb. *s̄i* < *hēḡ*
31. Anc. (Kgn. *t̄s̄i*ā) Pb. *ch̄ia* < *khēāḡ*
32. Anc. (Kgn. *k̄ji*) Pb. *k̄i* < *(s)kl̄ats*
33. Anc. (Kgn. *īi*wo) Pb. *t̄h̄io* < *flāḡ*
34. Anc. (Kgn. *īi*ai) Pb. *t̄hai* < *flats*
35. Anc. (Kgn. *k̄iek*) Pb. *kek* < *keauk*
36. Anc. (Kgn. *k̄i*ēn) Pb. *kyin* < *kḡēn*

It is unnecessary to prolong the list; our short selection speaks for itself. The various points briefly touched upon above furnish ample reasons for rejecting Pulleyblank's reconstructions, both for Ancient and for Archaic Chinese.

In my "Compendium of Phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese" (BMFEA 22, 1954) I have summed up, in a succinct account of my reconstructions, my reasons, point by point, for the Anc. and Arch. values proposed — there are no guesses propounded without arguments. In the present work I operate with the Archaic forms given in my *Grammata Serica Recensa*.



Some remarks should be added here about some categories of words which I have reconstructed as having Arch. (i.e. Shī king language) open syllables: Arch. finals 160—165 in the table above (-*ā*, -*a*), 166—167, 170 (-*ā*), 168, 169, 171, 172 (-*o*), 173, 174 (-*u*).

Some Chinese scholars have recently proposed Arch. final guttural consonants (velar stops) in some of these cases. It is important to emphasize the following facts:

*Category 1.* In certain Arch. categories of finals: the “*ag* group” (99—103 in our table): the “*eg* group” (113—115), the “*əg* group” (125—130), the “*ōg* group” (138—141), the “*og* group” (146—150), the “*ug* group” (157—159) there is a constant and extensive interchange in the Hs series with the corresponding categories ending in -*k*: the “*ak* group” (94—98), the “*ek* group” (109—112), the “*ək* group” (120—124), the “*ōk* group” (134—137), the “*ok* group” (142—145), the “*uk* group” (154—156). Examples: 辟 *piək* Phon. in 臂 *piəg*; 亥 *g’əg* Phon. in 勅 *g’ək*; 宙 *d’iōg* and 軸 *d’iōk* having the same Phon. 由 *d’iōg*. This frequent interchange is one of the principal reasons for reconstructing Arch. final -*g* in the former groups.<sup>1)</sup> Expressed in another way, there are in *Grammata Serica Recensa* (GSR, which contains practically all characters known in pre-Han texts) 575 characters for words<sup>2)</sup> of types *ag*, *eg*, *əg*, *ōg*, *og*, *ug* that have Hs connections with characters for words of types *ak*, *ek*, *ək*, *ōk*, *ok*, *uk*.

The rimes in the Shī show the same phenomenon: there are 66 instances (in 40 Odes) in which a -*g* word serves as rime word to a -*k* word, e.g. 來 *lāg*: 服 *b’iūk* (Ode 203).<sup>3)</sup> It is remarkable that there are so many cases, in spite of the fact that a rime *əg* : *ək* is a poor rime — the -*g* must have been quite strong.

*Category 2.* There is a group of Arch. finals reconstructed by me as the “*a* group” (finals *ā*, *a*, *ia*, *wā*, *wa*, *wia*, 160—165 above), e.g. *kā*, *ka*, *b’ia*, *χwā*, *g’wa*, *kwia* etc. In contrast to the words (-*g* words) studied in cat. 1 above, this “*a* group” has no interchange in the Hs with words ending in -*k* (ju sheng). There are in the GSR 209 characters for words having the six Arch. finals of the “*a* group”. None of them have Hs connections with -*k* words.

Even more important: We have seen, under cat. 1, that there existed very large groups of words ending in -*g* and preceded by all kinds of vowels. If our “*a* group” here (160—165) had possessed an Arch. final guttural consonant, this would inevitably have been revealed by some Hs connections between these “-*a* words” and the “-*g* words” of cat. 1. But there is no such connection.

This is confirmed by the rimes of the Shī. There are 165 instances in which an *a* (*ā*, *a* etc.) word serves as rime word: then it always rimes with another *a* word, never with any word ending in -*k* or -*g*.

<sup>1)</sup> Among other reasons one could mention double aspects of the same word stem, e.g. 復 Arch. *b’iōk* ‘to return’: *b’iōg* ‘again’; 易 *d’iēk* ‘to change’: *d’iēg* ‘(changeable:) easy’ — a great many cases.

<sup>2)</sup> The words are many more than the characters, since one character often serves for two or several independent words.

<sup>3)</sup> For the rimes, see B. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 1950, where the rimes are given in close agreement with the findings of Wang Nien-sun and Kiang Yu-kao.

In the Shī language the finals 160—165 evidently had no final guttural (velar) consonant.

*Category 3.* There is a group of Arch. finals reconstructed by me as the “*ā* group” (finals *ā*, *īā*, *wā*, 166, 167, 170 above), e.g. *kā*, *īā*, *kwā* etc. Like the group discussed in cat. 2 above, our “*ā* group” here has no interchange, in the Hs, with words ending in *-k*, nor with such ending in *-g*, in strong contrast to the interchange we witnessed in cat. 1 above. There are 66 characters in the GSR for words belonging to the “*ā* group”; none of them have any Hs connection with *-k* or *-g* words.

The Shī rimes testify to the same thing. There are 108 instances in which an “*ā* word” serves as rime word: then it never rimes with any *-k* word, nor with any of the numerous *-g* words discussed in cat. 1. above.

In the Shī language the finals 166, 167, 170 evidently had no final guttural consonant.

*Category 4.* There is a group of Arch. finals reconstructed by me as the “*o* group” (finals *o*, *io*, *wo*, *īwo*, 168, 169, 171, 172 above), e.g. *ko*, *kio*, *pwo*, *pīwo* etc. There are in the GSR 362 characters for words belonging to this “*o* group”. As a rule, these words have no Hs connections with words ending in *-k* (ju sheng),<sup>1)</sup> nor with the hundreds of words ending in Arch. *-g*. If they had possessed a final guttural consonant, they would have had at least a fair number of such contacts, just as well as the numerous *-g* words in cat. 1. We would expect Hs connections like *o:ōg*, *o:og*, *o:ug* or such-like; but there are no such.

On the other hand, no less than 118 of them have Hs connections with words of the “*ā* group” (cat. 3 above which, as we have seen, had no final consonant in the Shī language).

In the Shī the words of our “*o* group” do not rime with words ending in *-k* (ju sheng). On the contrary there are 152 instances where an “*o* group” word serves a rime word to an “*ā* group” word (cat. 3, no final consonant).

There is, however, a phenomenon here that calls for some explanations. There are a number of rime contacts of “*o* words” with “*ag* words”. In no less than 20 cases there are such Shī rimes, e.g. 故 *ko*: 莫 *māg* (0.258); 夜 *ziāg*: 居 *kio* (0.124). In order to explain these cases we shall either have to suppose a final guttural consonant in the “*o* words”, as the said Chinese scholars have done; or have to operate with an early loss of the *-g* in the “*ag* words” in these rime cases. The former alternative is excluded, above all by the fact just mentioned: that this “*o* group” has no Hs interchange at all with the *-k* groups; but also by the significant fact that the *o:g* rimes concern exclusively *āg*, *īāg* words. If the “*o* words” had possessed a final guttural, why would they never rime with any of the other *-g* categories (eg, *əg*, *ōg*, *og*, *ug*)? Obviously, we are here up against a phenomenon which concerns the “*ag* words” exclusively.

<sup>1)</sup> There are two instances that have often been adduced. The char. 著 has the two readings *tio* and *tīak*, both meaning ‘to place’. The char. 博 *pāk* ‘wide’ has for “Phonetic” (the right part) a *p’īwo* ‘to extend’. The latter case is obviously a *h u e i y i*, not a Hs. The former is a “synonym Kt”, the char. for *tio* having been borrowed for the synonymous *tīak*.

The normal evolution of the Arch. final *-äg* has been: *äg* > *o* > *uo* > *u*, as in 路 *gläg* > *glo* > (Anc.) *luo* > (Modern) *lu* (Phonetic 各 Arch. *kläk*). I have propounded earlier, and I repeat here, that this is what happened, in certain circles, with not only *äg* (> *o*, riming with *-o*) but also with *jäg* (> *io*, riming with *-o*). But this was not general in the language of the Royal Chou (that of the Shī),<sup>1)</sup> for some of the words in question here, riming with *-o* in some Odes, rime with “*ak* words” in other Odes, e.g. 夜 *ziäg*: 夕 *dziäk*: 惡 *äk* (0.194). I take it that there was, in Chou, a vacillation on this point, *äg* ↔ *o* forms and *jäg* : *io* forms existing side by side. This is nothing unheard of in Chinese dialects. In Pekinese we have *hsue* and *hsiao* ‘to learn’, *chue* and *chiao* ‘horn’ etc., alternative forms which are both good Pekinese; we have *nêng* and *nung* ‘agriculture’, *nêng* and *nung* ‘to handle, play with’, both good Pekinese; we have, above all, *ai* and *yai*, *an* and *yan* etc. in a very large class of words — both alternatives good Pekinese. To conclude, from a score of *o:äg* rimes in the Shī, that the very large word category here called the “*o* group” had a final guttural consonant in the Shī language would be a fatal methodical error: the conclusion would by far exceed the premises.

It should be observed that the Arch. “*ag* words” and the Arch. “*o* words” have coincided in regard to the finals in Anc. Chin. (*-uo* etc.). They are, however, easily distinguished. The former (always with Hs connections and often with rime connections with “*ak* words”) have, as a rule, *k’ ü sheng* and, moreover, are often cognate to the “*ak* words”, e.g. *d’äk* ‘to measure’: *d’äg* ‘a measure’: *äk* ‘bad’: *äg* ‘to find bad, to hate’: *gläk* ‘to drop’: *gläg* ‘dew’ etc. The latter (the “*o* group”) (with no Hs or rime connections with *-k* words) have predominantly *p’ing sheng* or *shang sheng* and, when there are cases of *k’ ü sheng*, these latter have Hs and rime connections with “*o* words” in *p’ing sheng* or *shang sheng*.

To sum up: In the Shī language the finals 168, 169, 171, 172 evidently had no final guttural consonant.

**Category 5.** There is a group of Arch. finals reconstructed by me as the “*u* group” (*u*, *iu*, 173, 174 above), e.g. *ku*, *kju*, *pju* etc. There are in the GSR 210 characters for words belonging to this “*u* group”. As a rule, these words have no Hs connections with words ending in *-k* (*ju sheng*)<sup>2)</sup> nor with the numerous words ending in *-g* (see cat. 1 above)<sup>3)</sup>.

The Shī testifies to the same. There are 79 instances in which an “*u* word” serves as rime word. As a rule it does not rime with any *-k* word (one exception in Ode 220), nor with any of the numerous *-g* words (two exceptions in Odes 177, 191). These sporadic cases are far too frail a testimony for any final guttural consonant.

<sup>1)</sup> The Odes were court poetry of the Royal Chou. Not even the Kuo feng were “the customs of the feudal states” but court songs sung on the Kuo feng “airs (melodies) of the feudal states”. This is proved by the remarkably consistent rime system in the whole of the Shī (except for a few Odes in the Sung), which would have been impossible if they had been written in the dialects of the various states.

<sup>2)</sup> There is the char. 數 which has often been adduced. It has two readings: *slju* ‘number’ etc. and *sük* ‘number’. Since it is an isolated case, it is better taken to be a “synonym Kt”, the char. for *slju* borrowed for the synonymous *sük*.

<sup>3)</sup> Except for some very rare *u:ióg*, see GSR.

If we were to reconstruct a final guttural consonant in the categories -a, -â, -o, -u, we would obtain the following scheme:

Ode 1.

Kuan kuan ts'ü(g) kiu(g)  
Tsai(g) ho(g) chī(g) chou(g)  
Yao(g) tiao(g) shu(k) nü(g)  
Kün tsī(g) hao(g) k'iu(g)

Ode 6.

T'ao(g) chī(g) yao(g) yao(g)  
Cho(k) cho(k) k'i(g) hua(g)  
Chī(g) tsī(g) yü(g) kwei,  
Yi(g) k'i(g) shī kia(g).

What a wonderful language!

1. a i ('ər a) 'to pity, sad, alas' Kt for a i ('əd b) 'to love' says Wang Nien-sun (Tsa chi 5 A) on Lü: Pao keng phr. c., where Kao Yu says a. means b.: "How can a ruler fail to be eager about loving his officers". Wang reminds that on Li: Yüe ki phr. d. Cheng Hüan says there was a variant a. for b. Following Wang's lead, Kuo Mo-jo on the Shen ts'i T'o inscr. phr. e. (f. = g. 'to grasp, to hold') says that a. stands for b.: "to (hold:) have love". — Unnecessary. A i a. is often practically synonymous with s ü h. 'to pity, to be solicitous about'. Thus c. = 'How can a ruler fail to be (commiserating:) solicitous about his officers'; e. = "to have (commiseration:) care, sympathy".

2. a i ('əd a) 'to love' Kt for y i ('iər b) 'clothes' says Yü Yüe on Lao 33 phr. c. In fact there is great uncertainty about the original reading. Some early versions had a i y a n g as in c., others had d., others again had e. — The Kt explanation is certainly improbable. It is undecidable whether the orig. text ran c.: "It (the Tao) loves and nourishes all things", or d.: "It clothes and nourishes all things"; or e.: "It clothes and covers all things".

3. a n ('án a) 'peace, tranquil' Kt for y e n ('ian b) 'to repose, to feast, have pleasure' says Sun Yi-jiang (Ku chou yü lun) on the Ko po Kuei inscr. phr. c.: "Together with Ko po feasted". — Very uncertain. Various other interpreters (Liu Sin-yüan, Kuo Mo-jo etc.) keep the a n a., and punctuate the text differently.

Again, a. Kt for b. as id. with d. says Yü Sing-wu on Ode 262 phr. e.: "There was no feasting, no recreation". — Arbitrary and unnecessary. The very context in the ode indicates a. in its ordinary sense: "There was no rest, no recreation".

4. a n ('án a) 'to repress' etc. Kt for o ('át b) 'to stop' says Chu Hi on Ode 241 phr. c., which in Meng: Liang Huei wang is quoted d. "In order to stop (them) he marched to Kü". — Lu Tê-ming here still reads a. 'án, but Chu is probably right, see Gloss 834.

Again, a n ('án e) 'stool; lay hands on' etc. Kt for b. says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Jen kien shi phr. f. The graphs e. and a. are often used interchangeably, and Ch'eng Yüan-ying rendered e. by g. 'to repress': f. = "Therefore he repressed people's feelings" (or, with some comm.: "people's trying to move him"). When Ma would take a. as Kt for b. 'to stop', this is quite unnecessary.

5. an ('án a) 'stool' etc. Kt for p' a n (p'wán b) 'bank between fields' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Kyü: Ts'i yü phr. c.: "He divided his state into 3 sections and raised boundary banks (between them)". — Reject. a. means 'stool, small table', hence by extension 'bench, bank'. No Kt required.

1 a 哀 b 愛 c 人主胡可以不務哀士 d 慈愛 e 凡哀 f 乳 g 機 h 恤  
 2 a 愛 b 衣 c 愛養萬物 d 衣養 e 衣被 3 a 安 b 宴 c 從格伯安  
 d 燕 e 匪安匪遊 4 a 按 b 遏 c 以按徂旅 d 以遏徂莒 e 案 f 因  
 案人之所感 g 抑 5 a 案 b 畔 c 參國起案 6 a 闇 b 掩 c 不下

6. a n ('əm a) 'dark' Kt for yen ('iam b) 'to cover' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Sün: Pu kou phr. c.: "He does not (downwards associate:) pal with his subordinates in order to conceal [the merits of] his superiors"; this because Yang Liang paraphrases a n shang by d. — Reject. a. has its ordinary meaning: "in order to obscure [the merits of] his superiors".

7. a n ('əm a) 'dark' Kt for yen ('iam b) 'hut' says Chu Tsün-sheng (foll. by Yü Sing-wu) on Shu: Wu yi phr. c., which is the variant in Shang shu ta chuan for the d. of the orthodox text. — Reject. For several other text variants see Glosses 786 and 1843, where this phr. has been discussed. It probably means: "The light was obscured" (sc. the ruler withdrew into seclusion).

8. a o (ngog a) 'proud, arrogant' Kt for t s a o (tsog b) says Yü Yüe on Lyü: Ki shī phr. c.: (To speak out of turn) "one calls that rashness". This because Lu Tê-ming says d.: "The Lu version (of the Lyü) read a o a. for t s a o b."; this is confirmed in Sün: K'üan hüe in a similar phr., ending in e. — Reject. A ngog cannot be Kt for a tsog. For this passage in Lyü there were evidently two divergent text versions ("rashness" and "arrogant" respectively).

9. a o (ngog a) 'big dog' Kt for k a o (kôg b) 'announcement' says Kuo Mo-jo (Ku tai shê huei yen kiu pu yi p. 9) on the phr. c., the title of a lost Shu chapter. c. gl̥io-ngog would be Kt for d. lo-kôg "the announcement of Lu". — An amusing speculation.

10. a o ('ôg a) 'southwest corner of house' Kt for t s a o (tsôg b) 'stove' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: Li k'i phr. c.: "The [sacrifice to] the stove is the sacrifice of the old women". — Reject. Cheng Hün realized that a o in this context must be wrong and proposed that the text was corrupted: it should read t s' u a n d., which is plausible.

11. c h a (tsât a) 'writing slip' Kt for tsie (dz'iat b) 'to cut' says Cheng Hün on Chouli: Ta tsung po phr. c.: "By the rites of exigencies he shows pity for calamities and (cuttings:) destruction"; Chu Tsün-sheng proposes Kt for c h ê (îiat d) 'to break'. — Unnecessary. Lu Tê-ming, while mentioning Cheng's reading, maintains that a. should be read tsât, this being a Kt for a word tsât 'pestilence', an ancient tradition which is quite plausible.

12. c h a. The char. t s' ü (ts'ïag a) 'maggot' when borrowed for 'a winter sacrifice', then traditionally read c h a (dz'äg, Ts'ie-yün, Shīwen), is really Kt for s o (sâk b) 'to search' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: Kiao t'ê sheng phr. c. — Reject; the definition in Li is merely an attempt at etymology (dz'äg considered cognate to sâk).

13. c h a (tsâ a) 'to pick up with pincers, to spear (as in fishing)' Kt for t s i e (tsïa b) 'oh!' says Yang Shu-ta (Kin wen shuo p. 18) on the Hün Ki Kuei inscr. phr. c. — Reject. Kuo Mo-jo says c h a a. (a word only known from Han time, except in bronze inscriptions) is "fa yü ts'i" initial particle without meaning (presumably something like d.): "Your task (work) is in the house of Hün po"; similarly in various inscriptions, e.g. the Lu Tung Yu inscr. phr. e.: "The Huai Yi dare to attack", etc. The Phonetic f., read t s ü (tsïo), is an empty particle in the Shī,

but then always final (g), never initial. Yüan Yüan and many later authors therefore take a. to stand for t s' u (dz'o h) 'to go': c. "Go to your task in the house of Hüan po"; e. "(go =) set out! The Huai Yi dare to attack". This is more cautious than to create an "initial particle" hitherto unknown.

14. c h a (dz'äg a), orig. graph for t s o (tsäk b) 'to make' etc. Kt for t s ê (tsäk c) says Kuo Mo-jo on the Ta feng Kuei inscr. phr. d.: "The greatly illustrious king then scrutinized ." — Possible but not very probable; it is rare that the *ang*, *ak* class goes together with the *äng*, *äk* class in the Hs Kt (an isolated case is j o (ñiak f) Phon. in n i (niäk g). The proper expl. of cases like d. was already given by Wang Nien-sun, Kuang-ya 1:1; Kuang-ya says b. = e. 'to begin, first', and in Shu: Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi) phr. h. "The myriad states have become well-ordered" b. = e. has the value of i. (Germ. "erst" =) 'thereupon, then' in the preceding line. Thus our d.: "The greatly illustrious king (erst =) thereupon scrutinized . . .".

In Kin wen ts'ung k'ao p. 191 Kuo Mo-jo had proposed that tsäk b. was Kt for c h u (îïök j) 'to pray' in the Chu Kung Hua inscr., but in his Ta hi he has corrected this into b. Kt for t s u (dz'äg k) 'to give sacrificial meat to', which is plausible (b. and k. belonging to the same Hs series).

15. c h a (dz'äg a) orig. graph for t s o (tsäk b) 'to make' etc. Kt for t s o (tsä c) 'to assist' says Yang Shu-ta (Kin wen shuo p. 161) on the Piao K'iang Chung inscr. phr. d.: "Piao K'iang gave assistance with the (weapons:) armaments to his overlord". — Reject. Kuo Mo-jo has rightly taken b. in its ordinary sense (yet taking j u n g as Kt for 'bell').

16. c h' a (ts'a a) 'to diverge, to distinguish, to choose' Kt for t s' u (dz'o b) 'to go' says Yü Sing-wu on Ode 137 phr. c. — Reject, see Gloss 332. c. = "They go and choose".

17. C h' a (ts'ät a) 'to examine' Kt for s h a (sät b) 'severe' says Cheng Hüan (followed by Chu Tsün-sheng and Yü Yüe) on Li: Hiang yin tsiu yi phr. c., registering the variant d. and defining it all as e.: "One gathers in in the season that is severe". — Plausible. Legge and Couvreur both carry c h' a to the next line, missing the point altogether.

Again, on Kuan: Yu kuan phr. f. Yü Sing-wu says a. is Kt for b.: "To kill and attack is the practice [leading to] victory". Yü adduces as parallel the T'ai shi

比以闢上 d 掩上之明 7 a 闢 b 庵 c 梁闢 d 亮陰 8 a 傲 b 躁  
c 謂之躁 d 魯讀躁為傲 e 謂之傲 9 a 藝 b 誥 c 旅藝 d 魯誥 10  
a 奧 b 竈 c 夫奧者老婦之祭也 d 爨 11 a 札 b 截 c 以荒禮哀山  
北 d 折 12 a 蜡 b 索 c 蜡也者索也 13 a 戲敵 b 嗟 c 戲乃任(江  
工)縣伯室 d 惟 e 戲淮夷敢伐 f 且 g 既旦只且 h 徂 14 a 乍 b 作  
c 則 d 丕顯王乍相 e 始 f 若 g 匪 h 萬邦作 x i 乃 j 祝 k 祚 15  
a 乍 b 作 c 佐 d 作戎車辟 16 a 差 b 徂 c 于差 17 a 察 b 殺 c

quoted in Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia phr. g.: "Our killing and attacking thereby became (spread:) famous". — Possible. Yet *f a h.*, besides having the meaning 'to attack', can also mean 'merit', and phr. *f.* may just as well, with Yin Chi-chang, mean: "To examine the merits (sc. of the warriors, rewarding and punishing) is the practice [leading to] victory". For *f a h.* in this sense cf. Tso: Chuang 28 phr. i.: "It will display the prince's merits". Thus there is really no need for a Kt speculation.

18. *ch' a* (*ts'ät a*) 'to examine, to discern' Kt for *ch o* (*i'ok b*) 'bright' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Tao Chī phr. c. — Reject; c. = "He is considered intelligent and discerning".

19. *ch' a i* (*dz'är a*) 'firewood, dried wood' Kt for *ch a n* (*dz'an, dz'än b*) 'intertwined branches' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Ta sheng phr. c. — Unnecessary, the orig. character making good sense: c. = "Standing like a decayed tree in the middle".

20. *ch a n* (*tian a*) 'to roll over, to unfold, develop' etc. Kt for *t a n* (*tän b*) 'ample' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Kyü: Lu yü, hia phr. c.: "That was to be (ample:) generous towards the kin" (Wei Chao: a. = d.). For *t a n b* in the sense of e. (Erya: Shī ku) see Ode 271 as quoted in Kyü: Chou yü, hia f. — Tempting but unnecessary, the orig. word making good sense: c. = "That was to (unfold, develop:) promote the kin".

21. *ch a n* (*i'ian a*) 'to heat, to flame' Kt for *t a n* (*tän b*) 'ample' says Kao Yu on Lü: Chung ki phr. c. — Unnecessary, *ch a n - j ê* being a natural binome: c. = "They did not wear clothes that were very warm".

22. *ch a n* (*tsäm a*) 'to cut off' Kt for *ch' a n* (*dz'äm b*) 'unequal, disparate, irregular' says Liu Shī-p'ei (Sün tsī kien shī) on Sün: Jung ju phr. c.: "The irregular becomes uniform". — Possible but unlikely. We have in the classics the common contrast *ch a n ts' u ei d.* "the cut-off lower border of the mourning robe" and the *ts ī ts' u ei e.* "the hemmed lower border of the mourning robe". Now *ts ī* (*tsiär f*) is, of course, a variation of the stem *ts' i* (*dz'iär f*) 'even', the idea being that the *ts ī - ts' u ei* has an even, a straight lower line, whereas the *ch a n ts' u ei* "cut off" has a rough and uneven lower border. In our Sün-tsī phr. c. the *ch a n a.* should have its regular reading and it means, in accordance with phr. d., '(cut off =) rough, irregular'.

23. *ch a n* (*dz'äm a*) 'rash, suddenly, momentarily' as variant for *ts i e n* (*tsiam, dz'iam b*) 'drop-wise' Kt for *ts' i e n* (*dz'iem c*) 'deep, scheming' says Ho Yi-hang on Shu: P'an Keng phr. d.; or Kt for *ch' a n* (*dz'äm e*) 'irregular' says Chang Ping-lin on the same text. — Both rejected in Gloss 1469. d. = "Rash and stupid, villainous and traitorous".

24. *ch a n* (*i'iam a*) 'garrulous' Kt for *t a* (*tap b*) 'to join' says Pi Yüan on Mo: Pei ch'eng men phr. c. Wang Nien-sun (Tsa chi) rejects Pi's idea and says the *ch a n a.* stands for *ch' a n* (*i'iam d*) 'apron', here 'shield, screen'. — The terms in Mo's compendium on military matters are highly obscure.

25. *ch a n* (*d'em a*) 'to soak; soaking' Kt for *ch' e n* (*d'iem b*) 'to sink' says Yang Liang on Sün: Kie pi phr. c., defining a. as = d.: "The (sinking mud =) dregs will be at the bottom". — Plausible.



Again, in the phr. e. "The soaking and the heating should be clearly conducted", which is found both in Li: Yüe ling, Chung tung, and in Lü: Chung tung ki, Lu Tê-ming takes a. to be Kt. for tsien (*tsiam* f) 'to moisten', whereas Kao Yu (on Lü) says a. is Kt for ch'en (*i'jem* g) 'a liquid, juice'. — Both Kt theories are unnecessary, a. itself in the sense of 'to soak' being well attested (Shī).

26. ch'ang (*d'iang* a) 'long' etc. Kt for ch'ang (*i'iang* b) 'bright, splendid' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Lü: Chī tu phr. c. — Unnecessary; a. has here its common reading chang (*t'iang*) 'superior': c. = "This was whereby Shen Nung was (superior:) prominent".

27. ch'ang (*i'iang* a) 'bright, splendid' Kt for tang (*tang* b) 'suitable' says Pseudo-K'ung on Shu: Kao Yao mo phr. c. — Unnecessary, see Gloss 1300: c. = "(Yü did reverence to) the splendid words".

28. ch'ang (*d'iang* a) 'constant, constant norm, regularly' etc. Kt for h'ang (*xiang* b) 'to turn towards' etc. says Chang Ping-lin on Chuang: T'ien yün phr. c.: "What you (turn towards:) favour is inexhaustible". — Reject. c. = "What you have as constant norm is inexhaustible".

29. ch'ang (*d'iang* a) 'constant, constant norm, regularly' etc. Kt for ch'ang (*d'iang* b) 'long' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Yili: Kung sī ta fu li phr. c. Cheng Hūan explains that ch'ang a. was a term for a length measure of two sūn d, each of 8 ch'ī e, thus ch'ang a. = 16 ch'ī. c. = "A rush mat 16 ch'ī long". ch'ang a. need not be Kt for ch'ang b; the length in question may simply have been called "the standard (measure)".

30. ch'ang (*d'iang* a) 'constant, constant norm, regularly' etc. Kt for siang (*d'iang* b) 'auspicious, happy' says Yü Yüe on Chuang: T'ien yün phr. c.: "Heaven has the five happinesses". Yü adduces Yili: Shī yü li phr. d, on which Cheng Hūan says that the Ku-wen version had e. But this is a mere lapsus in the Ku-wen, for the Yili text first has d: (After one year) "one offers these regular sacrifices", and then as a contrast e: (After two years) "one offers these auspicious sacrifices". Thus Yü's speculation fails. The phr. c. means: "Heaven has its five constant norms".

Again, Wu K'ai-sheng on Shu: Kao Yao mo phr. f. says a. Kt for b: "(You should) make illustrious the auspicious (men)", yu being a mere "particle". — Very

愁之以時察 d 時教 e 嚴赦 f 察伐勝之行 g 察伐用張 h 伐 i 且旌  
君伐 18 a 察 b 燁 c 以為明察 19 a 柴 b 棧 c 柴立其中央 20  
a 展 b 重 c 展親也 d 重 e 厚 f 重 (罕) 厥心 21 a 燁 b 重 c 衣不燁

熱 22 a 斬 b 僥 c 斬而齊 d 斬衰 e 齊衰 f 齊 23 a 暫 b 漸 c 潛  
d 普遍姦究 e 僥 24 a 謗 b 荅 c 渠謗 d 謗 25 a 湛 b 沈 c 湛濁  
在下 d 泥滓 e 湛熾 (饒) 必潔 f 漸 g 瀦 26 a 長 b 昌 c 此神農之所  
以長 27 a 昌 b 當 c 昌言 28 a 常 b 向 c 所常無窮 29 a 常 b

forced; f = "Displaying his constant norms (sc. the virtues just enumerated), he is auspicious indeed".

31. *ch a o* (*tsôg a*) 'claw' Kt for *sh o u* (*šjôg b*) 'to keep' says Kuo Mo-jo on the Shen-tsī T'o inscr. phr. c.: "Able to (hold on to:) observe the norms and instructions". — Possible. Yet we could also think of a Kt for *ts' a o* (*ts'og d*), cf. Meng 3 B, phr. e, giving the same meaning.

32. *ch a o* (*d'ïog a*) 'to begin' Kt for *sh a o* (*d'ïog b*) 'to make efforts, energetic' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 262 phr. c.: "You have been active (energetic) in your work" (and several more texts). — This meaning is well corroborated, see Gloss 1942. But the word *sh a o* (*d'ïog b*) is only known from Han time, and possibly *d'ïog* 'to begin' was Kt for a homophonous *d'ïog* 'energetic'.

33. *ch a o* (*d'ïog a*) 'to begin' Kt for *ki a o* (*kïog b*) 'to straighten' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Kyü: Ts'i yü phr. c.: "to regulate the root and straighten the top branches". Wei Chao defines a. here as = d. 'to correct, arrange'. — Reject. *ch a o* a. here has an extension of meaning: 'to initiate, to go to work at'. c. = "to regulate the root and go to work at the top branches".

34. *ch a o* (*d'ïog a*) 'to begin' Kt for *sh a o* (*d'ïog b*) 'to continue' says Kuo Mo-jo on the Lu po Chung Kuei inscr. phr. c.: "May you continue without failing". — Unnecessary. c. = "May you be energetic without failing". For this meaning of a. see Gloss 1042.

35. *ch a o* (*ïïog a*) 'to summon', Kt for *ch' u* (*t'ïuk b*) 'hobbled (pig)' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai followed by Chang Ping-lin (Sin Fang yen 2:54) on Meng: Tsin sin, hia phr. c.: (When they have brought the straying pig into the pen) "they further proceed to tie its leg". This meaning is based on a gloss by Chao K'i. — Reject. b. is a dictionary word (Shuowen) without texts, and the phonetic discrepancy is too great. Tsiao Sün soberly gives a. its ordinary meaning: "They further proceed to call it" (shout for it to come — though it is already there, an unnecessary act).

36. *ch a o* (*ïïog a*) 'to summon' Kt for *k' i a o* (*g'ïog b*) 'to lift' says Yü Yüe on Chuang: P'ien mu phr. c.: "[Shun] raised (propagated) benevolence and righteousness". This is based on Su Lin (3rd c.A.D.) who on a phr. in Han shu: Ch'en Sheng chuan says "a. has the sound b." Chu Tsün-sheng says a. is Kt for *ki a o* (*kïog d*) 'to lift', as in Lie-tsī: e. = "to lift the bar on the capital's gate". — The instances in which palatals and gutturals interchange in the Hs Kt, such as f. (*ïïëg*): g. (*g'ïëg*) are rare; hence a *tiog* Kt for *g'ïog* or *kïog*, though not excluded, is not convincing. It is tempting to believe that a. in c. and e. stands for d. but merely as a careless graphical abbreviation, the upper part, above the *k' o u* ('mouth'), having been reduced to some summary lines in Han-time li-shu mss.

37. *ch a o* (*ïïog a*) 'to summon' Kt for *ti* (*tiok b*) 'mark in a target' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Lü: Tsin shu phr. c.: (When an archer does not hit) "and then wants to make corrections in the target" (to explain his failure). — Plausible.

38. *ch a o* (*ïïog a*) 'to cut' Kt for *sh a o* (*d'ïog b*) 'to introduce' (= c.) says Ho Yi-hang on a phr. d.: "Introduce us to the Chou king" in a "lost" Shu chapter as quoted by Kuo P'o on Erya: Shī ku phr. e. — Plausible. The passage is quoted in Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia phr. f. and Chao K'i understood b. as = c., saying:

“They wanted to see (have audience with) the Chou king”. The author of the spurious Shu chapter Wu ch'eng, borrowing from Meng-tsi, has misunderstood and rendered it h. Sun Shī on Meng took *sh a o b* in a well-attested sense of ‘to transmit’: “They transmitted (their gifts) to our Chou king”. Chu Hi, on the other hand, says *sh a o b*. = ‘to continue’ in the sense of i. ‘to serve’: “We shall (continue =) always serve our Chou king”. — No reason for abandoning the oldest interpretation.

39. *ch a o* (*i'og a*) ‘to tell, announce’ Kt for *ka o* (*k'og b*) ‘to tell, announce’ says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: Hüe ki phr. c. etc. — Reject.

40. *ch a o* (*d'og a*) ‘to hasten’ Kt for *t' a o* (*d'og b*) ‘name of a tree’ says Sun Yi-jang on Mo: Pei ch'eng men phr. c., basing himself on an entry in Fang yen k. 5. — Possible.

41. *ch a o* (*d'og a*) ‘to hasten’ Kt for *t i a o* (*d'og b*) ‘to shake’ says Yang Liang on Sün: Fu p'ien phr. c.: “Its tail is shaking and long”. — Probable.

42. *ch a o*, *ch' a o* (*t'og, d'og a*) ‘morning; audience, court’ etc. Kt for *ch o u* (*i'og b*) ‘all round; Chou, place name’ says Yü Yüe on Ode 232, phr. c.: “They have no leisure to go all round.” — Far-fetched. c. = “They (the warriors) have not the leisure of a (free) morning”, see Gloss 744.

Again, a. Kt for b. says Yü Sing-wu on Ode 257 phr. d.: “He came and in Chou galloped his horses”. — Unnecessary, c. = “He came and at day-break galloped his horses”.

43. *ch a o*, *ch' a o* (*t'og, d'og a*) ‘morning; audience, court’ etc. Kt for *t' i a o* (*d'og b*) ‘to adjust’ says Ho Yi-hang on Sün: Ai kung phr. c.: “The training rules (sc. for the horses) were completely carried out”. — Tempting but unnecessary. c. = “The whole morning’s (program of) rules (for the horses) was completely gone through”.

44. *ch' a o* (*t'og a*) ‘to leap’ Kt for *ch' o u* (*t'og b*) ‘disappointed’ says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Sü Wu Kuei phr. c.: “Disappointed, he did not answer”. — Unnecessary; *t'og a*: simply stands for the homophonous d. ‘grieved’ (common in Chuang), by extension of meaning: grieved, hurt, displeased: dejected, disappointed.

45. *ch ê* (*i'ä a*) a particle, Kt for *k ü* (*k'io b*) in the name c.: *giwed-i'ä* for d.:

長 c 蒲筵常尋 e 尺 30 a 常 b 祥 c 天有... 五常 d 薦此常事 e 薦  
此祥事 f 彰厥有常吉哉 31 a 又 b 守 c 克又并(型)敷 d 操 e 仲  
子之操 32 a 肇 b 劭 c 肇敏戎公 33 a 肇 b 矯 c 靖本肇末 d 正  
34 a 肇 b 紹 c 女(姁)肇(肇)不蒙(隆) 35 a 招 b 聚 c 又從而招之 36  
a 招 b 翹 c 招 b 義 d 梅 e 招國門之關 f 支 g 枝 37 a 招 b 酌 c  
反修于招 38 a 釗 b 紹 c 介紹 d 釗我周王 e 釗見也 f 紹我周王  
g 願見周王 h 昭我周王 i 事 39 詔 b 告 c 詔于天子 40 a 趙 b  
桃 c 栲趙披 41 a 趙 b 掉 c 尾趙縹 42 a 朝 b 周 c 不皇朝矣 d

*djung-kjo* says Kuo Mo-jo on the Wang-sun Yi-chê Chung inser. — Usually nomina propria are not treated in this paper, for reasons already given, but this instance is adduced as a warning example of bad philology.

46. *ch ê* (*îiat* a) 'to break' Kt for *k' i* (*k'iet* b) 'to examine, to regulate' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: P'ien mu phr. c. — Reject. c. = "to (bend and break =) trim the rites and the music".

47. *ch ê* (*îiat* a) 'to break' and *ch ê* (*tjat* b) 'wise' are both Kt for *ch i* (*îiad* c) 'to restrain' in Shu: P'an Keng phr. d.: "For restraining the people there were the penal laws" etc.; also in Lun yü and other early texts, as recognized by Wang Yin-chi, Liu Pao-nan and others, see Glosses 2025 and 2038. That a. was taken to be Kt for c. already in the ancient Lu school interpr. of Lun yü: Yen Yüan was recorded by Lu Tê-ming.

48. *che* (*îiat* a) 'to break' Kt for *ch i* (*d'iek* b) 'to scratch' says Sun Yi-jang on Mo: Fei yüe, shang phr. c.: "They do not scratch the soil (sc. for metal) and make them" (sc. the musical instrument). — Reject. c. = "They do not break up the soil . . .".

49. *ch ê* (*îiat* a) 'to break' Kt for *t' i* (*d'ieg* b) 'slowly, tranquilly' says Ho Yi-hang on Li: T'an kung phr. c.: "Auspicious matters, one wishes them (treated) tranquilly". — Reject. b. 'tranquilly' is well attested, see Gloss 271. But a *îiat* certainly could not be Kt for a *d'ieg*. Lu Tê-ming indicated an Anc. Chin. (T'ang time) *d'iei* for a. in phr. c., and b. had likewise Anc. *d'iei*, hence Ho's speculation. But Lu's Anc. *d'iei* in this phrase must go back to an Arch. *d'iad*, for which *îiat* a. is Kt. This *d'iad* may be cognate to *ch' i* (*î'iad* d) 'to trail, to drag' (ex. in Yi king). When Wang K'ai-yün proposes that *îiat* a. is Kt for *k' i* (*g'ier* e) 'slowly' (a meaning which e. may never have had, see Gloss 39), he is wide of the mark.

50. *ch ê*, *ch' ê* (*d'iat*, *t'iat* a) 'to destroy' Kt for b., here serving for c. and read *t' i* (*t'iek*) 'to pluck down' says Cheng Chung on Chouli: Ch'ê ts'u shi (d). Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes that this shows that Cheng's original graph was e. with f. (*siek*) as Phon. Lu Tê-ming hence has *t'iek* as one of his readings. Wang Nien-sun (Shu wen 9) refutes Tuan's emendation and follows Cheng Hüan, who expressly says that g. is Phon. Several predecessors of Lu's have followed this, for Sü Miao read a. *d'iat* and Shen Chung read it *t'iat* (both ap. Lu). — Wang is evidently right, the word (*d'iat* or *t'iat*) being cognate to g (*îiat*) 'to break'. d. = "the breaker of (nocuous) birds' nests".

51. *ch ê* (*tiek* a) 'to blame, reprove' Kt for *ts' i* (*ts'ieg* b) 'to criticize' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 40 phr. c.: "The people of the house all together reprove me". — Reject. a. and b. are synonym words, both well attested, no Kt speculation required.

52. *chen* (*tien* a) 'precious thing' Kt for *chen* (*tien* b) 'to press down' says Tu Ts'i-ch'un on Chouli: Tien juei phr. c.: "The sceptre of domination". The phr. d. occurs in another Chouli passage (Ta tsung po). — If there is really a Kt here, d. might just as well be Kt for c. "the precious sceptre" as *vice versa*. But the context in the two passages rather favours the idea of c. and d. being really different kinds of sceptres (so Cheng Hüan), with no Kt at all.

53. *ch en* (*îiən* a) 'single, unlined (garment)' Kt for *tan* (*tân* b) 'single, unlined' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: K'ü li phr. c. — Reject. The word a. 'unlined' is well-known in its own right, and should certainly not be read *tan*. In Li: Yü tsao the homophonous *ch en* (*îiən* d) is Kt for it. In Lyü: Hiang tang we find the phr. c. in one text version, e. in one version and f. in another. In the last, *ch en* (*îiən*) 'compact, dense' is Kt for a., cf. Gloss 132.

54. *ch en* (*tsiən* a) 'to come' Kt for *tseng* (*tsəng* b) 'to increase, accumulate' says Ma Juei-ch'en on Ode 258 phr. c.: "Famine is repeated and accumulated". — Reject, see Gloss 987, c. = "Famine comes repeatedly".

55. *ch en* (*îiən* a) 'to shake, lift' etc. Kt for *ch en* (*îiən* b) 'to wipe' says Yü Yüe on Tso Chao 18 phr. c. "to wipe out and eliminate the fire calamity". Yü adduces Yili: Shī sang li phr. d.: "for wiping one uses a cloth", where the Ku-wen version had e. But it is not necessary to conclude that here *îiən* a. is Kt for *îiən* b., nor *vice versa*. The Kin-wen and the Ku-wen had different traditions about the text, the one having *îiən* for 'wiping', the other *îiən* for (shaking off =) 'dusting off'. Cf. Li: k'ü li phr. f. "(shaking off =) dusting off the written tablets". Likewise, in the Tso passage c. there need be no Kt; Tu Yü correctly says *ch en* a. = g. 'to throw off', thus c.: "to (shake off =) throw off and eliminate the fire calamity". Chu Tsün-sheng here curiously believes that *ch en* a. is Kt for *fen* (*piwən* h.) 'manure, to cleanse' (!). A similar impossible sound alteration proposed by him is *îiən* a. Kt for *fen* (*piwən* i) 'to start' in Ode 278 phr. j, thus: "the starting egrets", this because Ch'en Huan explained a. here by i. (not a Kt but a mere gloss). The line j. means: "(In numerous array =) in a flock the egrets go flying", see Gloss 1095.

56. *ch en* (*îiən* a) 'to shake, lift' etc. Kt for *sh en* (*dîen* b), but not in the ordinary sense of that word: 'careful', but = 'five years old boar', says Tu Tsi-ch'un on Chouli: Ta chu phr. c. This idea is based on Cheng Chung in comm. on Chouli: Ta si ma, yet with no support whatever. Cheng Hüan says that this *sh en* b. of Cheng Chung's is really a Kt for *sh en* (*dîen* d) 'clam, oyster'. — These are all free speculations. c. could be interpreted literally: "lifting sacrifice" (Biot: "on sacrifie en prenant les mets"), but the true significance is, after all, doubtful.

來朝走馬 43 朝<sub>レ</sub>謂<sub>レ</sub>朝禮畢矣 44 a 超<sub>レ</sub>憫<sub>レ</sub>超然不對 d 悟  
 45 a 者<sub>レ</sub>居<sub>レ</sub>遺者 d 容居 46 a 折<sub>レ</sub>詰<sub>レ</sub>屈折禮樂 47 a 折<sub>レ</sub>  
 哲<sub>レ</sub>制<sub>レ</sub>折民惟刑 48 a 折<sub>レ</sub>撻<sub>レ</sub>非折壤坦而為之 49 a 折<sub>レ</sub>  
 提(提) c 吉事欲其折折 d 掣 e 祁 50 a 若<sub>レ</sub>撻<sub>レ</sub>摘 d 若族氏 e  
 若 f 析 g 折 51 a 誦(誦) b 諫 c 室人交徧撻我 52 a 珍<sub>レ</sub>鎮 c  
 珍圭 d 鎮圭 53 a 衿<sub>レ</sub>禪(單) c 衿絺綌 d 振 e 絺綌綌 f 綌綌綌  
 54 a 臻<sub>レ</sub>增 c 饑饉薦臻 55 a 振<sub>レ</sub>拒 c 振除火災 d 拒用巾 e 振

57. *ch'en* (*iĕn* a) 'to shake' Kt for *ta n* (*d'án* b) 'to fear' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Shan mu phr. c. — Reject. c. = "to shake and (move =) tremble".

58. *ch'en* (*iĕn* a) 'to shake' etc. Kt for *ch'eng* (*iĕng* b) 'to arrange' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Tso: Ch'eng 7 (and *passim*) phr. c.: "to arrange the cohorts"; and again a. Kt for *ch'eng* (*iĕng* d) 'to correct' says Chu on Kuan: Siao wen phr. e.: "thereby correcting (restraining) its licentiousness". — Reject. Both cases are extensions of meaning. c. = "to shake up, move into order, marshal the cohorts", see in detail Gloss 462; e. = "to bring into order, to correct". On e., Yin Chī-chang says a. = d., but this is a mere gloss, no suggestion of a Kt.

59. *ch'en* (*iĕn* a) 'to shake' etc. Kt for *ch'eng* (*iĕng* b) 'to save, lift' says Ma Sü-lun on Lü: Yin ch'ü phr. c.: "He saved the prince of Ts'ai". — Reject. a. by extension of meaning is common = '(to pull out:) to lift, to save, to succour' (ex. in Yi, Kyü, Li etc.); it should certainly never be read *ch'eng* (*iĕng*).

60. *ch'en* (*iĕn* a) 'to shake' etc. Kt for *ch'ī* (*iĕr* b) 'to reverence' etc., but not in this sense but as a "grammatical word" meaning c., says Wang K'ai-yün on Ode 290 phr. d.: "From ancient times". — Reject. In the paragraph 109 below we shall see that several authors have taken b. as Kt for *ch'en* a., yet not convincingly. Here we find *vice versa*. But for *ch'ī* b. we have no other instances in which it means 'from'. There were already different opinions in Han time. Mao Heng says a. means c. Cheng Hün (basing himself on Erya) says a. means e., *ch'en - ku* being a synonym-compound. Chu Tsün-sheng therefore takes *iĕn* a. as Kt for *ch'e n* (*d'iĕn* f) 'dust', which also can mean '(dusty =) long ago' (Erya), the same word as *ch'e n* (*d'iĕn* g) 'old' (Shī). This is not convincing. We probably have to accept a word *iĕn* = 'from' on the authority of Mao, the earliest Shī glossist.

61. *ch'en* (*d'iĕm* a) 'I, we' Kt for *heng* (*g'əng* b) 'constant' says Kuo Mo-jo on the Chou Kung Kuei inscr. phr. c.: "(I) constantly serve the son of Heaven". — Reject. Even though our *ch'en* a. is phonetically curious in that most of its Hs derivatives end in -ng (*d'iəng*, *d'iəng*, *s'iəng*, *d'əng* etc.) and we thus may suspect an alternative Arch. *d'iəng* a., it certainly cannot be Kt in a *g'əng*. c. = "I serve the Son of Heaven".

Again, *ch'en* (*d'iĕm* a) Kt for *ts'eng* (*dz'əng* e) 'to give' says Kuo Mo-jo on the Ch'eng Ting inscr. phr. d., which is equally unacceptable.

62. *ch'en* (*ts'iem* a) 'to slander' Kt for *ch'a n* (*dz'äm*, *dz'am* b) 'to slander' says Wang Nien-sun (Tsa chī) on Mo: Siu shen phr. c.: "slandorous and evil words". Wang adduces Tso: Hi 28 phr. d., and Ode 200 phr. e., quoted f. in Hou Han shu: Ma Yüan chuan. — Reject. a. is not Kt for b., nor b. for a., but *ts'iem* a. and *dz'äm* b. are synonymous, well-attested words. For Ode 200 there were two divergent text traditions.

63. *ch'e n* (*d'iĕn* a) 'time, season' Kt for *sh'e n* (*d'iĕn* b) 'careful', this latter again Kt for a *d'iĕn* meaning '5 years old animal', says Wang Nien-sun (Shu wen) on Ode 127 phr. c.: "They present these 5 years old males". This is based on Cheng Chung on Chouli: Ta sī ma (cf. our par. 56 above). — This meaning of b. lacks early text support. c. = "They present these male animals of the season". Cf. Gloss 310.

64. *ch'ên* (*d'jên* a) 'to set forth, display, arrange' Kt for *tien* (*d'ien* b) 'cultivated land, to lay out for cultivation' in Cheng Hsün's text version (ap. Chouli: Shao jen, comm.) of Ode 210, phr. c., corresp. to Mao's d.: "It was Yü who put it in order for cultivation". — *Tien* b. frequently has the meaning of 'district' (esp. *tien fu* e. 'the district nearest to the capital'), thus being synonymous with the word *sheng* (*d'jeng* f), which fact led to a dreadful confusion. Cheng Hsün read both a., b. and f. as *ch'ên* (*d'jên*), but Lu Tê-ming erroneously believed that Cheng read all three *d'jeng*, and later commentators therefore often state that *tien* b. is Kt for and should be read as *sheng* f. (thus e.g. the Ts'i hai), which is phonetically impossible. See in detail Gloss 675.

The same loan: *ch'ên* a Kt for *tien* b. was proposed by Sun Yi-jiang on Shu: Wei ts'i phr. g.: "laid out for cultivation in former ages"; unconvincing. g. = "It was (displayed:) signalized above" (sc. in Heaven), see Gloss 1499.

Similarly, *ch'ên* a. Kt for *tien* b. says Wang Yin-chi (Shu wen) on Shu: Ts'i ts'ai phr. h., which, however, simply means: "He should arrange and put it in order", see Gl. 1703.

Again, *ch'ên* a Kt for *tien* b. in the sense of *tien fu* e. says Yü Yüe (K'ün king 7) on Yi Chou shu: Chai Chung phr. i.: "They *ts'o* first (*ch'ên* =) *tien* made a Royal district of [the region of] Chou". This is far-fetched; *ch'ên* has its ordinary meaning: "They first arranged the Chou [kingdom]". (Chu Yu-tseng: "They *ts'o* regulated and *ch'ên* arranged it *chou* (compactly:) in fine detail", less acceptable).

65. *ch'ên* (*d'jên* a) 'to set forth, display' etc. Kt for *shên* (*sjên* b) 'to extend' says Ma Juei-ch'ên on Ode 235 phr. c.: "Repeatedly endowed . . ." (so also Yü Yüe). — Refuted in Gloss 753. c = "(Widely =) amply endowed, indeed, was (the house of) Chou".

66. *ch'ên* (*d'jên* a) 'to sink, plunge into' Kt for *ch'ên* (*i'jên* b) 'liquid, juice, sap' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai (after Lu Tê-ming) on Li T'an K'ung phr. c.: "They prepare the elm juice". — Plausible.

67. *ch'ên* (*d'jên* a) 'to sink, plunge into' Kt for *yin* (*d'jên* b) 'to soak, licentious' says Wang Yin-chi on Shu: Wei ts'i phr. c. — Unnecessary, see Gloss 1500. c. = "We are plunged into and mad with wine".

用巾 f 振書 g 葉 h 糞 i 奮 j 振鷺于飛 56 a 振 b 慎 c 振祭 d 蜃  
57 a 振 b 憚 c 振動 58 a 振 b 整 c 振旅 d 正 e 以振其淫 59 a  
振 b 拯 c 振蔡公 60 a 振 b 祗 (祗) c 自 d 振古 e 古 f 塵 g 陳 61  
a 朕 b 恆 c 朕臣天子 d 錫朕 o o d 贈 62 a 譖 b 讒 c 譖惡之言 d  
讒惡之口 e 譖人 f 讒人 63 a 辰 b 慎 c 奉時辰牡 d 振祭 64 a  
陳 b 甸 c 維禹敷之 d 維禹甸之 e 甸服 f 乘 g 陳于上 h 惟其陳修  
i 作陳周 65 a 陳 b 申 c 陳錫哉周 66 a 沈 b 藩 c 為榆沈 67

On the other hand, in Kuan: Siao k'uan phr. d. compared with Kyü: Ts'i yü phr. e.: "Pick out the licentious and rebellious ones and first punish them" it is tempting to take a. as Kt for b. in view of the frequency of the binome y i n - l u a n ; yet it is not necessary, for c h' e n l u a n "deeply sunk in rebelliousness" makes good sense.

68. c h' e n (*d'iam* a) 'to sink, plunge into' Kt for c h' e n (*d'iam* b) 'furnace' says Yü Yüe on Chuang: Ta sheng phr. c.: "About furnaces there is the (demon) Li"; this in order to balance the following line d.: "About the stoves there is the (demon) Kie". — Phonetically admissible, but Lu Tê-ming records another text version having e., and Lu says c h' e n means 'muddy', thus c. (or e.) = "About the muddy pools there is the (demon) Li (or: Lou)". The second version points to something connected with water; hence Yü's Kt idea is unlikely. Tuan Yü-ts'ai says c h' e n a. is simply a variant for t a n (*tam* f) 'dregs' (within the same Hs series), which seems possible but not very convincing.

69. c h' e n (*d'iam* a) 'to sink, plunge into' Kt for c h' ê (*iiep* b) 'to fear' (here 'to scare') says Wu K'ai-sheng on Shu: P'an Keng phr. c.: "It puts fear into the multitude", k' u n g - c h' ê being thus a synonym-binome. — Unnecessary and unlikely. c. = "I fear that it will sink down deep in [the minds of] the multitude".

70. c h e n g [Peking c h e n] (*tieng* a) 'to verify, divination inquiry' Kt for c h e n g (*tieng* b) 'correct, to correct' says Cheng Hüan on Shu: Yü Kung phr. c. "After (correcting =) improving work of 13 years", and many parallel cases in the classics. — Plausible, see Gloss 1354.

71. c h e n g (*tieng* a) 'to verify, divination inquiry' Kt for c h' e n g (*d'ieng* b) 'to achieve' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Yi Chou shu: Shī fa phr. c.: "The one who has great thoughts and is able to achieve is (posthumously) called Achiever". — Possible; but the chapter has another phr. d. "The one who gives peace to the people and establishes a [good] government is called Achiever". It is not likely that the same word c h' e n g (*d'ieng*) 'to achieve' would occur twice, first correctly wr. b., then wr. with the Kt a. C h e n g a. here should mean, with an extension: '(the inquiry made =) with the good fortune verified = auspicious'. Thus c. = "The one who has great thoughts and is able to achieve is called Auspicious".

72. c h e n g (*tieng* a) 'to verify, divination inquiry' Kt for c h e n g (*i'ieng* b) 'to march' says Sung Siang-feng (foll. by Sun Yi-jang) on Mo: Fei yüe, shang phr. c.: "creeping insects". — Possible.

73. c h e n g (*tieng* a) 'to verify, divination inquiry' Kt for c h u (*tü* b) 'stem' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Lie Yü-k'ou phr. c.: "frame-work, support". — Reject. a. is, of course, a short-form for the common and well-known word c h e n g (*tieng* d.) 'post in framework in rearing walls, a support', and it has nothing to do with the word-stem *tü*.

74. c h e n g (*i'ieng* a) 'straight, correct, to correct' Kt for c h' e n g (*d'ieng* b) 'truly, really' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Lyü: Shu er phr. c.: "It is truly what your disciples cannot learn". — This is based on Cheng Hüan's note that the Lu text version had b. inst. of a. But this does not mean that a. was Kt for b. nor *vice versa*.



There were two different traditions about the text, and Cheng, while mentioning version b, abides by the Ku-wen version a.: “It is correct, but your disciples cannot learn it.”

75. *ch eng* (*iĭəng* a) ‘straight, correct, to correct’ Kt for *si ng* (*siĭəng* b) ‘nature (of man)’ says Chang Chan on Lie: Huang-ti phr. c.: “He nurtured his nature and life”. — An arbitrary text alteration; a. makes good sense: “He nurtured his proper life”.

76. *ch eng* (*iĭəng* a) ‘to steam’ etc. and *ch eng* (*iĭəng* b) ‘firewood’ both Kt for *ch ung* (*iĭōng* c) ‘numerous’ says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 260 phr. d.: “the numerous people”, and other texts. — Reject. *iĭəng* a. and b. serve as Kt for a homophonous word *iĭəng* ‘numerous’ well attested in many texts. Erya says a. = c., but that is a definition, not a Kt; a. and b. should of course never be read *ch ung* (*iĭōng*).

77. *ch eng* (*iĭəng* a) ‘to steam’ etc. Kt for *t s’ e ng* (*dz’əng* b) the particle says Ma Juei-ch’ en on Ode 156 phr. c.: “They are in the mulberry grounds”. — Refuted in Gloss 387. c. = “In great numbers they are in the mulberry grounds”. (*ch eng* a. ‘to steam’ Kt for a homophonous word ‘numerous’).

78. *ch eng* (*iĭəng* a) ‘to steam’ etc. Kt for *ch ung* (*iĭōng* b) ‘end, to finish’ says Yü Sing-wu on Ode 164 phr. c., which Yü would alter into d.: “In the end they will not be (equal =) of the same value”. — Reject, see Gloss 387. c. = “Although they are many, there has been no aid”.

79. *ch eng* (*iĭəng* a) ‘to steam’ etc. Kt for *t eng* (*təng* b) ‘to rise, to lift’ says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 211 phr. c.: “We lift up [gifts] . . .” and on Shu: To fang phr. d.: “He did not in purity lift up [gifts]”, since Ma Jung here defines a. by e. — Refuted in Glosses 679 and 1918. As shown there, a. means f. ‘to bring forward’. c. = “We offer gifts to our fine officers”; d. = “He did not (in purity present =) bring pure sacrifices”.

80. *ch’ e ng* (*d’iĭəng* a) ‘to achieve, complete’ Kt for *ch’ ung* (*d’iĭung* b) ‘double’ says Chu Tsün-sheng on Chouli: Si yi phr. c.: “He orders to make an altar in three layers”. — Reject. *ch’ e ng* a. is an extension of meaning: “an altar in three (achievements, executions:) stages” (first making one, then on top of that a second, and then again a third). Aptly translated by Biot: “l’autel en terre, aux trois achèvements”.

a 沈 b 淫 c 沈酗于酒 d 擇其沈亂者而先政之 e 擇其淫亂者而先  
征之 . 68 a 沈 b 湛 c 沈有履 d 寵有詰 e 沈有漏 f 黜 69 a 沈 b  
懼 c 恐沈于衆 70 a 貞 b 正 c 貞作十三載 71 a 貞 b 成 c 大慮  
克就曰貞 d 安民立政曰成 72 a 貞 b 征 c 貞蟲 73 貞 b 株 c 貞  
榦 d 楨 74 a 正 b 誠 c 正唯弟子不能學也 75 a 正 b 性 c 養正  
命 76 a 烝 b 蒸 c 衆 d 烝民 77 a 烝 b 曾 c 烝在桑野 78 a 烝

81. *ch'eng* (*d'jeng* a) 'to achieve, complete' etc. Kt for *p'ing* (*b'jeng* b) 'level, to pacify' etc. says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 191 phr. c.: "Who holds the (equalizing:) ordering of the state?" Probably Chu found a parallelism with a phr. earlier in the same ode: d. "You (should) hold the (equalizing:) ordering of the state". — Reject. Our *ch'eng* a. in c. is an extension of meaning: "the (achievement, the perfectioning:) ordering of the state".

82. *ch'eng* (*d'jeng* a) 'to achieve, complete' etc. Kt for *ch'en* (*d'jén* b) 'dust' in its Kt meaning 'old' (= c) says Chu Tsün-sheng on Sün: Cheng ming phr. d.: "the old customs (sc. in terminology) of the Chinese"; this because Yang Liang defines a. by e. 'old'. — Reject. *ch'eng* a. has its ordinary meaning: d. = "the (achieved:) established customs of the Chinese".

83. *ch'eng* (*t'jeng* a) 'to run quickly and freely, to be unbridled, (to let run:) to give a free course to, unloose, indulge' Kt for *ying* (*dieng* b) 'full, to fill' says Wang Nien-sun (Shu wen) on Tso: Siang 25 phr. c.: (They have maltreated us) "unable to (fill up =) get their fill" (sc. be satisfied). — It is true that a. can serve as variant for b. in ancient names (Tso: Chao 23 Shen-tsī Ch'eng = Ku-liang Shen-tsī Ying; Tso Luan Ying = Shī ki: T'ien Wan shī kia Luan Ch'eng, on which Sī-ma Cheng: "Ch'eng a. has the sound ying b."). But it is doubtful whether this is applicable here. In the numerous phrases where *ch'eng* a. has a direct object, e.g. Tso: Huan 6 phr. d., either interpr. will do: "The prince (unlooses:) indulges his desires", or, with *ch'eng* a. Kt for *ying* b.: "The prince (fills:) follows to the full his desires". But in phr. c., without any direct object, "unable to fill" is very forced, whereas the ordinary meaning is better: "(They have maltreated us so that)" one cannot estimate their unbridleness". It is then safer (in spite of the variation in the names) always to give a. its own meaning, reading it *ch'eng* and not *ying*. This is particularly clear in other ex. where *ch'eng* has no object, e.g. Tso: Chao 4 phr. e.: "The people must not be indulged", etc.

84. *ch'eng* (*d'jeng* a) 'to ascend' etc. is Kt for *yün* (*d'jeng* b) 'to conceive, pregnant' in Yi: Kua 53 in Sün Shuang's version c. (ap. Lu Tê-ning): "The wife is pregnant but does not rear", the orthodox version being d. Indeed, Lu in several texts indicates alternative readings of b.: *d'jeng* and *d'jeng*; but this is probably a mere speculation precisely because of our Kt instance in Yi above.

85. *ch'eng* (*d'jeng* a) 'to lift, to present, to receive' etc. Kt for *ch'eng* (*d'jeng* b) 'to reprove, repress' says Tu Yü on Tso Ai 4 phr. c.: "(The dignitaries) feared that he would make a new removal, and [they would] (repress:) stop [him]" (accepted by Tuan Yü-ts'ai sub v. a.) — Unlikely, for the text should then be: *ch'eng* *ch'hi* "they would stop him". Yü Yüe (K'ün king) therefore says *d'jeng* a. is Kt for *d'jeng* d. 'to mount': . . . "When he had mounted" (sc. his car). — Definitely right.

Again, on Ode 300 phr. e. Mao Heng says a. is Kt for b.: "Nobody can dare stop us", and Chu Tsün-sheng, on the other hand, says a. is Kt for d.: "Nobody can dare to (get on top of:) get the better of us". These attempts are refuted in Gloss 1172; a. has here its ordinary meaning: e. = "Nobody can dare (receive:) meet us (in battle)".

86. *ch'eng* (*ḍjəng* a) 'to lift, to present, to receive' Kt for *tseng* (*dz'əng* b) 'to present, give' says Cheng Hsün on Li: Wen wang shī tsī phr. c. "presented (mouth-fillings =) jades for the corpse's mouth". — An arbitrary and unnecessary emendation. a. can mean 'to present' just as well as b.

87. *chī* (*tjǝg* a) 'to know, understand' Kt for *chê* (*ḷiat* b) 'to break' says Wang Nien-sun (Tsa chī) on Yen tsī ch'un ts'iu, Tsa phr. c. Since there is a parallel text in Lü: Chao lei which runs d.: "to (break:) crush aggression coming from a distance of 1000 li", Wang thinks that in c. the last 5 words should be expunged, and the 1st word, *chī* a. should be *chī ch'ung* e., Kt for the *chê ch'ung* f. of Lü. — Reject. c. = "He who has knowledge [reaching to] a distance of more than 1000 li . . . can be called a crusher of aggression".

Again, *chī* (*tjǝg* a) Kt for *chê* (*ḷiat* b) says Yü Yüe on Chouli: Shī shī phr. g.: "By filial virtue on (breaks = h:) restrains the refractory and wicked ones". — Reject. g. = "By filial virtue one recognizes the refractory and wicked ones". — Both Wang and Yü quote as support Ta Tai li: K'üan hüe phr. i, corresp. to Sün: K'üan hüe phr. j; but this is quite unsafe, for some versions only of Ta Tai li have *chī* a., others have *chê* b. just as Sün.

88. *chī* (*tjǝg* a) 'to know, understand, wisdom' Kt for *chī* (*ḷiəg* b) 'purpose, intention, will, mind' says Yü Yüe (K'ün king) on Yi: Kua 2 phr. c.: "His mind is wide and great". — Unnecessary. c. = "His (understanding:) wisdom is wide and great".

Again, a. Kt for b. says Yü Yüe (K'ün king) on Ta Tai li: Wen Wang kuan jen phr. d.: "When he is made glad or angry by external things, he changes his (purpose:) mind". — 5 words later in the context we find the char. b; why should it be written with a Kt a. in the 1st place but not in the 2nd? d. = "When . . . external things, he changes his (understanding, conceptions:) views."

89. *chī* (*tjǝg* a) 'to know' Kt for *tsī* (*tsjər* b) 'property, to avail oneself of' etc. says T'ao Hung-k'ing on Lü: Shen shī phr. c.: (Even sages like T'ang and Wu) "still based themselves on (relied on) force". — Reject. It is true that a binome *tsie-tsī* d. 'base, support' exists (Hanfei: Shuo nan phr. e.), but *tjǝg* a. cannot be Kt for *tsjər* b. Wei Yü therefore reminds that in Chuang: Keng Sang Ch'u phr. f.: "Those who have knowledge communicate (with outer things)", and Wei says:

6 終 c 烝也無我 d 終也無如 79 a 烝 b 登 c 烝我髦士 d 不謁烝  
 e 升 f 進 80 a 成 b 重 c 令為壇三成 81 a 成 b 平 c 誰秉國成  
 d 秉國之均 82 a 成 b 塵 c 陳 d 諸夏之成俗 e 舊 83 a 逞 b 盈  
 c 不可億逞 d 君逞欲 e 民不可逞 84 乘 b 孕 c 婦乘不育 d 婦孕  
 不育 85 a 承 b 懲 c 恐其又遷承 d 乘 e 莫我敢承 86 a 承 b 贈  
 c 承舍 87 a 知 b 折 c 知千里之外 -- 可謂折衝矣 d 折衝乎千里  
 之外 e 知衝 f 折衝 g 孝德以知道惡 h 制 i 朽木不知 j 朽木不折

the *tsie chī g.* of phr. c. is therefore equal to *tsie tsie h.*, thus c. = “they still relied on and communicated with force”, which makes poor sense. Probably *chī a.* has its ordinary meaning. c. = (Even sages like T’ang and Wu)” still based their (knowledge) wisdom on force”.

90. *chī (tṣṣg a)* ‘to know’ etc. Kt for *pi (piər b)* ‘to compare, equal’ says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: *Ti wang* phr. c., whatever Ma may have thought that means. — Reject. c. = “That is the lack of knowledge of those two creatures” (the bird and the rat), i.e. their acting by instinct, without reasoning.

91. *chī (tṣṣad a)* ‘to cut out, regulate’ Kt for *chê (tṣṣat b)* ‘to break, to bend’ says Wang Yin-chī on Kuan: *Pa yen* phr. c.: “to bend the joints” (to humble oneself). — Plausible; shortly after, in the same chapter, we find d. Cf. b. Kt for a. in our paragr. 47 above.

Again, a. Kt for *chê (tṣṣat e)* ‘wise’ says Wang Yin-chī on Ta Tai li: *Kao chī* phr. f.: “This was the ancient enlightened and wise ones’ governing the world.” — Possible; but it is not necessary to change the text. f. could mean: “This was the ancient enlightened regulators’ governing the world.”

92. *chī (tṣṣēt a)* ‘substance, to substantiate’ Kt for *chī (tṣṣēd b)* ‘to bring forward, to achieve’ says Yü sing-wu on Kuan: *Ts’i ch’en ts’i chu* phr. c.: “The tyrannic ruler, though familiar with the people’s feelings, causes (doubts:) misgivings, therefore his ministers have no faith in him.” — Unnecessary. c. = “The tyrannic ruler, familiar with the people’s feelings, verifies his suspicions (about their hate); therefore his ministers (aware of his suspicions) do not trust him.” The *chī yi d.* is a well-known binome.

On the other hand, on Sün: *Fei siang* phr. e. Wang Nien-sun says b. is Kt for a.: *chī shī f.* = “substantiated and true”. Yet this is unnecessary, for *chī shī g.* ‘achieving truth’ = ‘truthful’ gives the same meaning: e. = “(In their disquisitions) they are accomplished and yet truthful”.

93. *chī (tṣṣēt a)* ‘substance, substantial’ Kt for *cha (tsāt b)* ‘a writing slip’ says Chu Tsün-sheng on Chouli: *Siao tsai* phr. c.: “He supervises sales and purchases by aid of slips” (*chī* and *tsi* being different kinds of documents on wooden slips). — Reject. *chī a.* simply means ‘substantiation, verification’, hence ‘deed’: “. . . by aid of deeds”.

94. *chī (tṣṣēt a)* ‘substance, substantial, to substantiate’ Kt for *k’i (k’ṣṣēt b)* ‘to examine’ says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: *Chung yung* phr. c.: “He examines them (sc. his principles) before the Spirits”. — Reject. c. = “He (substantiates:) verifies them before (auprès des:) the Spirits”.

95. *chī (tṣṣēt a)* ‘substance, substantial’ Kt for *chī, chē (tṣṣat, tṣṣad b)* ‘bright’ says Chu Tsün-sheng on Yili: *Shī kuan li* phr. c.: “At bright dawn”. — This would be tempting, if b. were known from other texts to make part of a binome *chī - ming*, which is not the case. After all, an extention of meaning: ‘substantial, essential > just, exactly’ is natural; c. = “Exactly at dawn”.

96. *chī (tṣṣēt a)* ‘substance, substantial’ Kt for *chun (tṣṣwən b)* ‘water-level, law, to regulate’ says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 237 phr. c., etc. — Reject. c. = “[they] gave pledge of good faith in concluding the peace”. See Gloss 802.

97. *ch ī* (*iĕt* a) 'substance' etc. and *ch ī* (*iĕd* b) 'to arrive, reach, the highest point' etc. both Kt for *sh ī* (*d'ĕt* f) 'full, solid, real, true' says Kuo K'ing-fan on Chuang: K'o yi phr. c. and on Chuang: T'ien tao phr. d.: "The level of Heaven and Earth and the real nature of Tao and its power". — Kuo adduces that on Li: Tsa ki phr. e. Cheng Hūan says that *sh ī* f. is Kt for *ch ī* b.: "One has sent (so-and-so =) me to come" (sc. and report). If f. could be Kt for b. in Li, b. could be Kt for f. in Chuang. But Cheng's gloss is arbitrary and unnecessary, e. meaning: "One has sent me to give the (truth:) true facts". The two phrases in Chuang are analogous but not necessarily identical; both make good sense without alterations: c. = "The substance of Tao and its power"; d. = "The (highest point:) perfection of Tao and its power". When Yü Yüe proposes that in c. the a. is Kt for b., this is quite unnecessary.

98. *ch ī* (*iĕd* a) 'hostage' etc. Kt for *sh ī* (*sĕt* b) 'house, family' says Yü Sing-wu on Mo: K'i chī phr. c.: "The important families (sc. wives and children) should have their dwellings" (sc. in the beleaguered city). — Reject. Pi Yüan had defined *ch ung ch ī* as = "wives and children", and Yü thinks a. cannot mean this, so he replaces a. by b., but that is surely wrong: *ch ung ch ī* means "the important hostages", i.e. the families of the warriors, who are the guarantee for the loyalty of the latter. — In Grammata I have carried *ch ī* a. to the *ət*, *əd* class, but I believe that it should really belong to the *ĕt*, *ĕd* class; this because *ch ī* (*iĕd* d) 'to stumble' must be the same word as *ch ī* (*iĕd* e) 'to stumble'.

99. *ch ī* (*iĕd* a) 'hostage, pledge, gift' Kt for *ch ī* (*iĕb* b) 'gift' says Yang Liang on Sün: Ta lüe phr. c.: "A henchman who deposes a gift". — All since Wei Chao on Kyü: Tsin yü says a. means b., Yang and later commentators have taken a. to be Kt for b. This is not so bad phonetically as it would appear, for b., which originally belonged to the -*p* class, since it has *ch ī* (*iĕp*) for Phonetic (and is cognate to it), must for obscure reasons have passed over quite early into the -*d* class (>*iĕd*), since it is Kt for *ch ī* (*iĕd* d) 'brought forward = brought to perfection' (Chouli: Han jen) and for *ch ī* (*iĕd* e) 'heavily weighed down' (Chouli: Chou jen). But it is not therefore sure that a. is Kt for b. in the phr. c. In fact, the word a. has two readings: *ch ī* (*iĕt*) 'substance, substantial, honest, good faith' etc.; and *ch ī*

88 a 知 b 志 c 知廣大也 d 喜怒以物而變易知 89 a 知 b 資 c 猶  
藉知乎勢 d 藉資 e 以為藉資 f 知者接也 g 藉知 h 藉接 90 a 知  
b 比 c 而曾二蟲之無知 91 a 制 b 折 c 制節 d 折節 e 哲 f 此古

之明制之治天下 92 a 質 b 致 c 芒主通人情以質疑故臣下無信  
d 質疑 e 文而致實 f 質實 g 致實 93 a 質 b 札 c 聽賣買以質劑  
94 a 質 b 詰 c 質諸鬼神 95 a 質 b 哲 c 質明 96 a 質 b 準 c 質  
厥成 97 a 質 b 至 c 天地之平而道德之質 d 天地之平而道德之

(*t̥iəd*) 'substantial token of good faith, pledge, hostage'; two aspects of the same word stem. c. thus means: "A henchman who deposes a pledge (of good faith)". When Chu Tsün-sheng proposes that in the sense of 'good faith' it is Kt for *sh̄i* (*d̥'iet̚ f*) 'true', this is quite unnecessary. And when Chang Ping-lin (Wen sh̄i 3) says that when a. means 'pledge' it is Kt for *tsie* (*tsiet̚ g*), this is very far-fetched. 100. *ch̄i* (*iəd̥ a*) 'to arrive' Kt for *ch̄i* (*iag̥ b*) 'mind, will' says Yang Liang on Sün: Cheng lun phr. c.: "This is the mind of a true king". — Reject. c. = "This is the (highest point:) perfection of a true king". Wang Nien-sun (Tsa ch̄i) quotes another Sün passage d. and concludes that *iəd̥ a*. in c. stands for *iad̥ e*. This is by no means conclusive; the passages need not be identical.

101. *ch̄i* (*iəd̥ a*) 'to bring forward' etc. Kt for *ch̄i* (*iēt̚ b*) 'deed' says Wang Nien-sun (Shu wen) on Li: K'ü li phr. c.: "He should carry the documents and deeds". — Plausible.

102. *Ch̄i* (*iär̥ a*) 'finger, to point' has often been said to be Kt for *ch̄i* (*iəd̥ b*) 'to effectuate, bring forward, accomplish', e.g. Shu: Wei ts̄i phr. c.: "Now you do not (effectuate:) make any announcement (to me)" compared with Shu: P'an Keng phr. d.: "You should all effectuate the announcement". — a. and b. are merely synonyms. a. 'to point' is Kt for a homophonous *ch̄i* (*iär̥*) 'to effectuate', also written e. and f., see Glosses 820, 1498.

103. *ch̄i* (*d̥'iet̚ a*) 'order, orderly, to regulate' Kt for *y i* (*d̥iär̥ b*) in the sense of 'ordinary, simple' says Yü Sing-wu on Shu: Lo kao phr. c.: "Make everything simple and without (ornament:) display". — Reject. c. = "Range everything in order without confusion", see Gloss 1755.

104. *ch̄i* (*iəd̥ a*) 'to stumble' Kt for *h u e i* (*g'iwəd̥ b*) 'kind, to love, to favour' says Yü Sing-wu (Wen süan, shang 3:18) on the Ts'in Kung Kuei inscr. phr. c.: "He is truly affectionate in Heaven". — Reject. Kuo Mo-jo, reading the first word as d., takes *ch̄i* a. 'to stumble' in the sense of e. 'to trample': "He on High tramples about in Heaven", an amusing interpr. Why not: a. Kt for *ch̄i* (*iəd̥ f*) 'to come': "He on High has arrived and sojourns in Heaven".

105. *ch̄i* (*iəd̥ a*) 'to stumble' Kt for a word meaning 'bottom of a flower or fruit' (Li: K'ü li). Cheng ts̄i t'ung says it is Kt for *t i* (*tiad̥ b*), Chu Tsün-sheng says for *t i* (*tiär̥ c*). Both are phonetically doubtful. Lu Tê-ming's Anc. *tiei* (which could derive from *tiad̥* or *tiär̥*) points rather to an Arch. *tied̥*.

106. *ch̄i* (*iär̥ a*) 'embroidery' Kt for *h i* (*χiär̥ b*) 'sparse, (far apart:) distant' says Sun Yi-jang (Ku chou sh̄i yi, chung 28) on the Tseng po Fu phr. c.: "He was grandly martial in very distant [regions]". — Sun's reason is that on Shu: Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi) phr. d. "embroidery on fine cloth" Cheng Hüan says *ch' i* (*t'iar̥ e*) 'fine cloth' is Kt for *ch̄i* a. 'embroidery'; therefore, if e. could stand for a., a could stand for (half of e. =) b. Cheng's idea was refuted in Gloss 1321. The inscr. graph f., earlier interpreted as *y e g*. (Yüan Yüan) has been taken to be *ch̄i* a. not only by Sun but also by Yü Sing-wu, Yang Shu-ta and others. Kuo Mo-jo, on the contrary, takes it to be a variant for *ch' a n g h.*, here in the sense of *t' a n g i*. 'high': c. = "He was was greatly martial and very high". — All exceedingly unsafe.

107. *ch̄i* (*d̥'iar̥ a*) 'pheasant' Kt for *s i* (*dz̥iär̥ b*) 'rhinoceros' says Wen Yi-to on

Ch'u ts'i: T'ien wen phr. c.: "He met that white rhinoceros". — Unnecessary. c. = "He met that white pheasant".

108. *ch i* (*iär a*) 'to reverence, respect' Kt for *tsai* (*tsag b*) 'interjectional particle' says Yü Sing-wu on Shu: Tsiu kao phr. c.: "He had no (clearness:) understanding of the people, indeed". — Reject. Even if we remember that *ch i* (*iär a*.) is often by the scribes confused with *ch i* (*iäg d*.) 'only' and propose that the text should have *d*. and not *a*., it is still too bad with a *iäg* Kt for a *tsag*. c. = "He has no (clearness:) clear understanding of the *min ch i* respect due to the people", see Gloss 1676.

Again, *ch i* (*iär a*.) or (with *d*. inst. of *a*.) *ch i* (*iäg d*) Kt for *tsi* (*tsiag e*) 'black' says Yü Sing-wu on Mo: Fei ju, hia phr. f. (*iär twán*, or *iäg twán*) which Yü takes as Kt for g. (*tsiag dia*) "black lower hem of robe". — Reject. Wang Nien-sun has speculated about *ch i* in phr. f. being a wrong character, but the meaning is good as it stands: "(Respectful =) courteous full dress". Yü's *dia* for *twán* is, of course, excluded.

109. *ch i* (*iär a*) 'to reverence, respect' Kt for *chen* (*iän b*) 'to succour' says Sun Yi-jang on Mo: Kien ai, chung phr. c.: "In order to succour the Shang, Hia, Man, Yi and the many Mo". This makes sense only if we take Shang and Hia as being the states ruled by the descendants (Sung and K'i) of Shang and Hia, and the Barbarians, i.e. all those not directly Chou but dominated by Chou. But the Kt proposed is not necessary. The Chou king asserts that he will not bully or persecute those "outsiders", and *ch i* *a*. has its ordinary meaning: c. = "In order to be courteous to the (states descendants of) Shang and Hia and the (Barbarians:) Man, Yi and the many Mo." — Again, on Shu: Kin t'eng phr.: Wang pu *ch i* (*a*) *w e i*, Wang k'ai yün says *a*. is Kt for *b*. in the sense of 'to tremble': "There are none who do not tremble and fear". Unnecessary: "There are none who do not revere and fear (him)". — Again, on Shu: Pi shi phr. *ch i* (*a*) *fu ch i*, Wang K'ai-yün says *a*. is Kt for *b*.: "If you (tremblingly:) in awe return them". Unnecessary: "If you respectfully return them".

110. *ch i* (*iär a*) 'fine-tasting, fine' Kt for *ch i* (*iäg b*) 'a particle' says Chu K'i-feng (ap. Ts'i t'ung) on Tso: Chao 13 phr. c. (this was Tu Yü's text version)

至 *e* 使某實 *f* 實 98 *a* 質 *b* 室 *c* 重質有居 *d* 躋 *e* 寔 99 *a* 質 *b*  
摯 *c* 錯質之臣 *d* 致 *e* 輕 *f* 實 *g* 節 100 *a* 至 *b* 志 *c* 是王者之至  
*d* 王者之制 *e* 制 101 *a* 致 *b* 質 *c* 操書致 102 *a* 指 *b* 致 *c* 今爾無  
指告 *d* 凡爾眾其惟致告 *e* 若 *f* 底底 103 *a* 秩 *b* 帝 *c* 歲秩無文案  
104 *a* 寔 *b* 惠 *c* 耽寔在天 *d* 峻 *e* 蹈 *f* 至 105 *a* 寔 *b* 蒂 *c* 柢 106 *a*  
莆 *b* 希 *c* 元武孔莆 *d* 絺繡 *e* 絺 *f* 榮 *g* 業 *h* 常 *i* 堂 107 *a* 雉 *b* 兕  
*c* 逢彼白雉 108 *a* 祗 *b* 哉 *c* 罔顯于民祗 *d* 祗 *e* 緇 *f* 祗端 *g* 緇施

for Ode 172 phr. d. Tu explained a. as meaning 'fine', but it is evidently a particle synonymous with b. (*îîar* could not be Kt for *îîëg*). Cf. Gloss 445.

111. c h î (*îîar* a) 'grease' Kt for c h î (*îîëg* b) 'branch, prop, to prop up' says Ma Juei-ch'en on Ode 199 phr. c.: "How do you have leisure to prop up your cart (to halt)." The idea is Lu Tê-ming's who says a. has the sound b. — Reject, see Gloss 609. c. = "How do you have leisure to grease your cart [axles]."

112. c h î (*îîëg* a) 'only' Kt for c h î, s h î, t' i (*îîëg*, *đîëg*, *d'ieg* b) 'peace' says Cheng Hün on Ode 199 phr. c.: "You will cause me to be at rest". — Refuted in Gloss 613. c. = "You have caused me to suffer". The char. a. was properly read k' i (*g'îëg*) 'Earth Spirit', but it was often Kt for a word c h î (*îîëg*) 'only'. Here in c., read k' i (*g'îëg*) it is Kt for k' i (*g'îëg* d) 'illness'. In later times the char. in the sense of 'only' etc. is often wrongly written e. through confusion with c h î (*îîar* e) 'to reverence'. — When a. is Kt for c h î (*îîëg*) 'only', Chu Tsün-sheng believes that it should really be Kt for and read as s h î (*śîëg* f) 'only'; but the reading *îîëg* is strongly supported in ancient tradition, and *îîëg* and *śîëg* are only two aspects of the same word stem.

113. c h î (*îîëg* a) 'only' Kt for t o (*tâ* b) 'much, many' says Wang Nien-sun (Shuwen) on Yi: Kua 24 phr. c.: "Not much repentance". — Reject. There is great uncertainty regarding this phrase c. Lu Tê-ming reads a. c h î (*îîëg*) and says it is merely a "particle": "No repentance". Ma Jung likewise reads *îîëg*. Han Po reads a. *g'îëg*, defining it as = d. 'great': "No great repentance". Cheng Hün says a. = e.: "No painful repentance" (a. in the sense of 'Earth Spirit' read k' i [*g'îëg*] is then Kt for f. k' i [*g'îëg*] 'suffering'). Wang Su had the variant c h î, s h î (*îîëg*, *đîëg* g), by Lu Tê-ming defined as = h. 'peace, peaceful', which makes poor sense. — Cheng Hün's idea is certainly best, k' i h u e i making a plausible binome.

Some similar difficulties pertain to a phr. i. in Yi: Kua 29. c h î (*îîëg*) 'only' is there Kt for t s a i (*tsag* j) 'calamity' says Yü Sing-wu: "The defile is not full (of water), calamity is (appeased:) avoided". — Reject. Some versions of the text had c h î (*îîar* k), but, as already said, it is common that k. is a bad substitution for a. Cheng Hün, however, seems to have accepted k., for he says (ap. Lu Tê-ming) that it is Kt for c h' î (*d'îar* l) which he defines as 'a small mound': i. = "The small mounds are undisturbed". But other authoritative text versions had a., and then there are several possibilities. Lu Tê-ming reads *îîëg*, and Wang Pi (taking this in its ordinary sense) explains: "It (sc. the water) only reaches the rim". But King Fang and Hū Shen (ap. Lu Tê-ming) both have a version m., this c h î, s h î, t' i (*îîëg*, *đîëg*, *d'ieg* g), for which the *îîëg* a. of the current version would be Kt, meaning 'peace': i. = "peace has been (appeased =) achieved", which is poor in the context. Wang Yin-chī (Shuwen) proposes that, just as in the phr. c. above, a. here stands for f; and that, when the King Fang version had m., this would be Kt for f. — Wang Pi's interpr. is simple and preferable.

Again, t o (*tâ* b) 'much, many' Kt for c h î (*îîëg* a) 'only, simply, just' says Wang Nien-sun (Shuwen) on Tso: Siang 14 phr. n.: "We simply give prisoners to the Ts'in" (and several similar cases). — Reject. n. = "We in great numbers give



prisoners to the Ts'in". It should be added that *t o b.* sometimes serves adverbially: 'there are many chances that, *forte*'; in some of these phrases it is unnecessary to tamper with the texts.

114. *c h ī* (*tīək a*) 'to ascend, rise high' Kt for *t ê* (*tək b*) 'to obtain, attain to' says Ho Yi-hang on Chouli: Ta pu phr. c.; based on a gloss by Cheng Hūan, who says *a. = b.*: "In all things having attainment" (i.e. a dream that comes true in everything). — Possible but arbitrary. The phr. makes sense without being tampered with. *c. =* "a complete ascension" (the soul in the dream leaving the body and soaring aloft).

Again, *c h ī* (*tīək a*) Kt for *t ê* (*tək d*) says Kuo Mo-jo on the Shen-tsī T'o inscr. phr. *e.*, the *d.* then taken in the sense of 'goodness': *e. =* "to show (goodness:) gratitude to the two dukes". In his 1st ed. of the Ta hi, Kuo had taken *c h ī a.* in its own sense, but transitive: 'to bring up': *e. =* "to offer (sacrifice) to the two dukes". The latter makes sense without any Kt speculation.

115. *c h ī* (*tīək a*) 'to ascend, rise, raise' Kt for *c h ī* (*tīět b*) '(to verify, to control=) to fix' say Lu Fa-yen, Lu Tê-ming, K'ung Ying-ta and Yen Shī-ku on Shu: Hung fan phr. *c.*, all reading *a.* as *b.* (following a gloss of Pseudo-k'ung's). Thus *c.* "Heaven . . . fixes the people here below". — Reject, see Gloss 1520. *a.* is the same *w.* as *c h ī* (*tīək d*), the graph being the same enlarged by Rad. 187. *c. =* "Heaven shelters and raises the people here below". — In the same phr. *c.* Yü Yü takes *a.* as Kt for *c h' ī* (*t'īək e*): "Heaven . . . disposes the people here below", and he believes that this was Sī-ma Ts'ien's idea since (in Sung Shī kia) he renders the line *f.* If so, it was an arbitrary speculation of Sī-ma's. In support Yü adduces that for Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi) phr. *g.*: "rightly disposing the mandate of Heaven" (see Gloss 1348) Sī-ma has *h.*; *t'īək e.* in Shu would here be Kt for *tīək d.*: "ascending to the mandate of Heaven". But Sī-ma too often arbitrarily alters the ancient texts and cannot be relied on.

116. *c h ī* (*d'īək a*) 'straight, right' Kt for *c h ī* (*tīək b*) 'office' says Wang Nien-sun (Shuwen) on Ode 113 phr. *c.*; 'office' would here mean 'proper place'. "Then we shall find our proper places". — Unnecessary. *c. =* "Then we shall find our right".

117. *c h ī* (*d'īək a*) 'straight, right' Kt for *c h ī* (*tīөг b*) 'to know' says Sun Yi-jang on Mo: King shuo, shang phr. *c.* — Unnecessary. *c. =* "Nothing (straight, direct=) directly pertinent, nothing to answer".

109 a 祇 b 振 c 以祇商夏蠻夷醜貉 110 a 旨 b 只 c 樂旨君子 d 樂  
只君子 111 a 脂 b 支 c 遑脂爾車 112 a 祇 b 禔 c 俾我祇也 d 祇  
e 祇 f 營 113 a 祇 b 多 c 无祇悔 d 大 e 病 f 疢 g 禔 h 安 i 坎不  
盈祇既平也 j 災 k 祇 l 坻 m 禔既平也 n 多道秦禽 114 a 陟 b 得

118. *ch ī* (*t̃iæg a*) 'to place' Kt for *j ī* (*ñiēt b*) 'post-horses' or rather for *y ī* (*d̃iək c*) 'post-horses' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, shang phr. d.: "to transmit orders by post-horses and relays"; this because Kuang-ya has an entry a. = c. — Reject. *ch ī a.* has its ordinary meaning: c. = "to transmit orders by (placing:) arranging relays".

119. *ch ī* (*d̃iək, d'̃iæg a*) 'to plant, put up, establish' Kt for *ch ī* (*t̃iæg b*) 'aim, will, mind' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ch'u ts'i: Chao hun phr. c.: "A soft face but a firm will (mind)"; also on Kuan: Fa fa phr. d.: "If the superiors do not have a firm will" (Yin Chī-chang *ch ī a.* = *ch ī b*). — Unnecessary. c. = "A soft face but firmly established"; observe that there is a text variant to c.: e: "firmly established". Likewise d.: "If the superiors are not firmly established (in their purpose)". e. *ku li* "firmly established (in their minds)" is a common expression.

120. *ch ī* (*d̃iək, d'̃iæg a*) 'to plant, put up, establish' Kt for *ch ī* (*t̃iək b*) 'to stick, to adhere' says Chang Ping-lin on Chuang: T'ien Tsī Fang phr. c., taking b. in the sense of 'to stick together, assemble' (Yü Fan on Yi: Kua 16: b. = d.). Thus c. "As to the high officers, he had destroyed (those sticking together =) the leagues and scattered their crowds (of adherents)". Sī-ma Piao (ap. Lu Tê-ming) defines a. as = e. 'the ranks', thus taking a. in its own value 'to put up, to range': "As to the high officers, he destroyed the ranks and scattered their crowds". Yü Yüe takes a. as Kt for *ch ī* (*t̃iək f*): "As to the high officers, he destroyed (those in management =) the leaders and scattered their crowds". For support he adduces Tso: Sūan 2 phr. g.: Hua Yüan was leader" (Tu Yü: a. = h.), where Yü likewise takes a. as Kt for f. ("the one in management"). — The meaning of b. is weakly attested, see Gloss 1358. Neither of these Kt tricks is necessary. *Ch ī a.* 'to plant, to put up' can, by extension of meaning, mean 'a vertically raised pole, a supporting pillar, a prop', e.g. in Mo: Fei ju, hia phr. i.: "He lifted the door-posts", etc. It is thus synonymous with *ch eng j.* 'pillar', and just as Ode 235 phr. k. means: "They are the pillars of Chou, so here in c. it means the supporting pillars. c. = "He had destroyed the (pillars:) leaders and scattered their crowds". The phr. g. in Tso means: "Hua Yüan was the (pillar:) leading man".

121. *ch ī* (*d̃iək* and *d'̃iæg a*) 'to plant' Kt for *sh ī* (*d̃iæg b*) 'to plant' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Tso: Siang 30 phr. c.: (We have fields), "Tsī Ch'an has planted them". — Unnecessary, b. is known from no pre-Han text; it is a variant of the same word stem as a.

122. *ch ī* (*t̃iək a*) 'pole' Kt for *ni* (*ñiət b*) '(close-sticking:) glue' says Tu Tsī-ch'un on Chouli: Kung jen phr. c., which Tu says was a text variant for the traditional d.: "different kinds of glue". — These are synonyms and represent two different text traditions; *t̃iək* cannot be Kt for *ñiət*. The former may be Kt for *ch ī* (*t̃iək e*) 'to stick together'. It may be cognate to a word *ni* (*ñiək f*) 'close-standing, intimate' which in later times has often been confused with the synonymous *ni* (*ñiət b*).

123. *ch ī* (*t̃iək a*) 'to stick together' Kt for *t' ê* (*t'ək b*) 'to err, error' says Yang Shu-ta (Kia wen shuo) on oracle bone phrases like c.: "No fault". — Possible.

124. *ch ī (i̇ak a)* 'duties, office, to manage' etc. Kt for *ch ī (d'iet b)* 'order' etc. says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: *Chī lo phr. c.*, but the latter not in its ordinary sense but meaning 'accumulated': "The myriad things are accumulated", because Shuowen has *b. = d.* This latter meaning, however, is attested in no reliable text. — Reject. The meaning of *phr. c.* is very obscure. Sī-ma Piao says "*ch ī - ch ī a.* is equal to *e.*", which is equally obscure. Li Kuei says it is = *f.* "The myriad things are (ample, prosperous =) multitudinous"; he probably means that *i̇ak a.* is Kt for *d'iet g.* 'to prosper, flourish'. This would seem good, but for the fact that the next (riming) line has *h.*, so that the word would rime with itself, the first time wr. by a Kt, the second by its proper character. Lu Tê-ming therefore proposes that *ch ī a.* has its proper sense (*Erya = i.*) in an extension of meaning: "The myriad things have their régime" (they are not confused but are kept apart in their various categories). This seems best, since the handed-down text need not then be tampered with.

125. *ch ī (d'ieg a)* 'to regulate, to direct, govern' etc. Kt for *ts' ī (dziag b)* 'speech' etc. but not in the proper sense of this char. but as an "empty final particle" says Wu K'ai-sheng (Shang shu hou ki) on Shu: K'ang kao *phr. c.*: "And then he grandly made an announcement". *b.* would be this final particle in Shu: Ta kao *phr. d.*, and in Shu: Lü hing *phr. e.* — Reject. This "final particle" is an invention of Wu's, for the rest unheard of. *a.* and *b.* have their ordinary meanings in *c.* and *e.*, and in *d.* the *b.* is Kt for the homophonous *ts' ī (dziag f)*, see Gloss 1609. Thus: *c.* = "And then he grandly announced the work to be done", *d.* = (Since) Heaven is not to be relied on" (sc. the mandate is uncertain), I shall *ts' ī* hereafter perfect my people (sc. make it loyal); *e.* = "Do not (have =) admit false and disorderly pleadings".

Again, *a.* 'to direct' etc. Kt for *b.* 'speech, indictment' says Yü Sing-wu on Kuan: Li cheng *phr. g.*: "The orphans and widows will have no support for their indictments (sc. against their superiors)". — Unnecessary. *c.* = "The orphans and widows (sc. the most helpless ones) will not be (hiddenly =) unlawfully governed".

126. *ch ī (i̇ag a)* 'foot, to stop' etc. Kt for *ts ī (tsiag b)* 'this' says Yü Sing-wu on Ode 250 *phr. c.* He points out (correctly) that *a.* and *d.* are one and the same Arch. graph, and *d.* can mean *b.* — Unnecessary, see Gloss 908. *c.* = "*ch ī - ki* the settlements were well distributed".

*c* 咸陟 *d* 德 *e* 陟二公 115 *a* 隲 *b* 質 *c* 惟天陰隲下民 *d* 陟 *e* 敕 *f*  
 維天陰定下民 *g* 敕天之命 *h* 陟天之命 116 *a* 直 *b* 職 *c* 爰德我直  
 117 *a* 直 *b* 知 *c* 無直無說 118 *a* 置 *b* 郵 *c* 驛 *d* 置郵而傳命 119 *a*  
 植 *b* 志 *c* 弱顏固植 *d* 上無固植 *e* 國立 120 *a* 植 *b* 哉 *c* 列士壤植  
 散羣 *d* 叢合 *e* 行列 *f* 職 *g* 華元為植 *h* 主 *i* 扶植 *j* 植 *k* 維周之植  
 121 *a* 殖 *b* 壽 *c* 子產殖之 122 *a* 穢 *b* 昵 *c* 穢之類 *d* 昵之類 *e* 哉 *f*  
 暱 123 *a* 哉 *b* 忒 *c* 亡哉 124 *a* 職 *b* 秩 *c* 萬物職職 *d* 積 *e* 祝祝 *f*

Again, on Ode 154 phr. e. Yü says: f. is the same as a. (correct), but this a. is equal to d. and the k ü - c h ī in e. is equal to g.: "We (lift =) use this". — Unnecessary: e. = "(In the days of the 4th) we lift the heels" (i.e. we move out to live in the summer sheds in the fields).

127. c h ī (*îiæg* a) 'foot, to stop' etc. Kt for t s ī (*dz'îæg* b) 'female hemp' says Yü Yüe on Li: Kien chuan phr. c.: "During the mourning of 9 months the appearance (sc. of the mourner) resembles the (colour of) the t s ī hemp". — Plausible. The preceding lines had, for longer periods of mourning, d. "the appearance resembles the t s' ü hemp" and e. "the appearance resembles the s i hemp". The traditional interpr. of c.: "the appearance is as if (the feelings) had ceased" is very strained.

128. c h ī (*îiæg* a) 'mind, will, purpose, record' etc. Kt for s h ī (*šîæk* b) 'to know' says Yü Sing-wu on Sün: T'ien lun phr. c.: "What we know about Heaven". — It is true that a. and b. are homophonous (*îiæg*) and interchangeable in the sense of 'to record, a record' (e.g. Li: Ai Kung wen phr. d.: "May you make it registered in my heart"), but here in c. b. would have its reading *šîæk*. — Unnecessary. c. = "What is recorded (attested) about Heaven".

129. c h ī (*îiæg* a) 'mind, will, purpose, record' etc. Kt for c h ī (*îiæk* b) 'office, to manage' etc. says Yü Yüe on Li: T'an Kung phr. c.: (At the funeral of K'ung-tsāi) "Kung-si Ch'ī was (the one in office, the manager:) the director". — Unnecessary. c h ī a. can mean 'to record, a record', and Cheng Hüan therefore defines it here as = d. 'memorial, monument': c.: "Kung-si Ch'ī made the ornaments of commemoration", and these are then immediately enumerated in the following lines. The c h ī a. of the text makes the best sense.

Again, Yü Yüe on Li: Ta chuan phr. e. says a. Kt for b.: "All (duties:) affairs are achieved". — Unnecessary. e. = "What all desired was realized" (Legge); "Tous les désirs étaient satisfaits" (Couvreur).

130. c h ī (*îiæg* a) 'mind, will, purpose, record' etc. Kt for c h ī (*tiëg* b) 'wise' says Yü Yüe on Lyü: Wei Ling Kung phr. c.: "The wise and the benevolent". — Reject. c h ī a. has its ordinary meaning, as shown by the context. c. = "The purposeful (strong-willed, determined) and the benevolent" (will not seek to live if they thereby injure their benevolence).

Again, on Shang-tsāi: Wai nei phr. d. Yü Yüe says a. Kt for b. But the phr. d. is simply a faulty text version; all good versions have e. throughout the chapter.

131. c h ī (*îiæg* a) 'mind, will, purpose, record' etc. Kt for t s' ī (*dz'îæg* b) 'affectionate' says Chu Yu-tseng on Yi Chou shu: Wen chuan phr. c.: "loyal and faithful and c h ī - a i affectionate". — Unnecessary. Sure enough a t s' ī - a i would make a good binome of synonyms (common), but since c h ũng s īn is not such a binome, we must conclude that c h ũng s īn are two properties and c h ī a i are two more: "loyal and faithful, purposeful and loving".

132. *ch ī* (*īiəg a*) ‘him, her, it’ Kt for *ts ī* (*tsiəg b*) ‘this’ say Kuo Mo-jo (Ta-hi 45 a) and Yü Sing-wu (Wen-süan 2:27) on the phr. c. in early bronze inscriptions. — Unnecessary. c. as it stands makes good sense.

133. *ch ī* (*d’iəg a*) ‘to regulate, to direct, govern’ etc. Kt for *ch ī* (*t’iəg b*) ‘to know’ says T’ao Hung-k’ing on Lü: Chī tu phr. c.: “to know the Way”. — a. here is not a Kt but a textual error. The context is: (The important thing for eliminating the traitors, lies in) d. “well governing the officials”; (this again lies in) c. “knowing the Way”; (this again lies in) e. “knowing the given nature (of man)”. The a. in c. is obviously wrong, due to the influence of the preceding d.; it should be b., as in the following e.

134. *ch ī* (*d’iəg a*) ‘to regulate, to direct, govern’ etc. Kt for *t’i*, *ch ī* (*t’iər*, *d’iər b*) ‘to clear off weeds’ says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Siao yao yu phr. c.: “The whole world was (weeded:) cleaned”. Reject. c. = “The whole world was in good order”.

135. *ch ī* (*īiəp a*) ‘juice’ Kt for *hie* (*g’iap b*) ‘in harmony, conform, suitable’ says Lu Tê-ming on (his version of) Chouli: Hiang shī phr. c. “On the proper day”; this because the orthodox version (Cheng Hūan) read d. Cheng Hūan on Chouli: T’ai shī(e). phr. f. says *ku shu* “an old text version” had g., and Tu Tsī-ch’un says “g. is identical with b., some also write a.”. — Tuan Yü-ts’ai says *ch ī* (*īiəp a*) is Kt for g., which is a variant for b., hence a. should be read *hie* (*g’iap*), with Lu above. This is phonetically bad and unnecessary. In *ch ī* (*īiəp a*) ‘juice’s *h ī* (*d’iəp h*) ‘ten’ is Phonetic. In *hie* (*g’iap g*) ‘in harmony’ we have a *huei yi*: ‘ten’ and ‘mouth’. The variant a. in the Chouli text is not a Kt (*īiəp* for a *g’iap*) but simply a scribe’s error for the similar g.

136. *ch ī* (*tsiəp a*) ‘to collect, to fold up, to stop’ Kt for *tsie* (*dz’iap b*) ‘smart, efficient, victorious’ says Yü Yüe on Shang-tsī: Suan-ti phr. c.: “In their farming they will be energetic and in their warfare they will be victorious”. — This Kt would seem to be favoured by the sequel: d. = “If in their warfare they are victorious, the neighbouring (states) will be (in danger:) scared”. But, in fact, it is unnecessary. The *ch ī* a. here is common in the sense of ‘gathering in the weapons’ (Ode 273; Tso: Siang 24) i.e. ‘to demobilize’; thus c. = “In their farming they will be energetic and in their warfare they will (be able to) gather in their arms” (i.e. demobilize after successful campaigns, the neighbours not daring to attack them).

繁殖 *g* 殖殖 *h* 皆從無為殖 *i* 主 125 a 治 *b* 辭 *c* 乃洪大告治 *d* 天棐  
忱辭其考我民 *e* 無僭亂辭 *f* 嗣 *g* 孤寡無隱治 126 a 止 *b* 茲 *c* 止  
基廼理 *d* 之 *e* 四之日舉趾 *f* 趾 *g* 舉茲 127 a 止 *b* 苒苒 *c* 大功貌  
若止 *d* 貌若直 *e* 貌若臬 128 a 志 *b* 識 *c* 所志於天者 *d* 子志之心  
129 a 志 *b* 職 *c* 公西赤為志焉 *d* 章識 *e* 故百志成 130 a 志 *b* 知智 *c*  
志士仁人 *d* 辯志者 *e* 知者 131 a 志 *b* 蕙 *c* 忠信而志愛 132 a 之

137. *ch'ī* (*ījəp* a) 'to grasp, hold' Kt for *ts'ie* (*tsjəp* b) 'to contact' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: K'ü li phr. c.: "(contacting =) close friends". — Reject. The early interpr. (Cheng Hüan): d. "friend holding (the same aim)" is too scholastic. c. means simply: "a friend who holds on (to you)".

138. *ch'ī* (*ījəb*, *tjěd* a., see under b. paragr. 99 above) 'to grasp, seize, hold, to present' Kt for *ch'ê* (*ījat* c) 'to break' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: Yüé ling phr. d.: "The snow and frost greatly (break =) destroy"; this because Cheng Hüan defined a. by e. — Reject. Ch'en Hao rightly gives a. its fundamental meaning: c. = "The snow and frost are greatly (rapacious =) overwhelming".

139. *ch'ī* (*ījəp* a) 'to grasp, hold' Kt for *ch'ī* (*ījək* b) says Yü Yüé on Ode 274 phr. c., in which b. would mean d.: "Directing and strong". — Reject. *Ch'ī* a. is merely a short-form for e., and c. means: "terrifying and strong", see Gloss 1084. — For the expression f. in Odes 193, 257 etc., in which *ch'ī* b. is merely a particle, see Gloss 286.

140. *ch'ī* (*ī'jǎk* a) 'red' Kt for b. which again is Kt for *ts'ê* (*ts'ǎk* c) 'to spear (fish), to pierce' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Chouli: Ch'ī po shī phr. d. The officer Ch'ī po shī's duty was to expel noxious things in house-walls. Lu Tê-ming says a. is read either in its ordinary way *ch'ī* (*ī'jǎk*) or *ts'ī* (*ts'ǎk*). Cheng Hüan said d. is a short-form for e., and to this again Lu says b. was *ts'ī* (*ts'ǎk*), but mentions that Sū Miao read it *h u o* (*χwǎk*); Ts'ie yün read b. *h u o* (*χwěk*), Shuowen = 'to cleave, break open'. This b., if read *χwěk*, is known from no pre-Han text; if read *χwǎk* it may be id. with Chuang: Yang sheng chu: *h u o* (*χwǎk* f) 'to burst open'. The title d. (*h u o p o shī*) would then mean "the officer who breaks open and repels". But the whole theory of a. being Kt for b. thus has too weak pre-Han support. The original graph a., if read *ch'ī* (*ī'jǎk*), Lu's principal reading, is evidently Kt for the homophonous *ch'ī* (*ī'jǎk* g) 'to repel'; if read *ts'ī* (*ts'ǎk*), it is certainly not Kt for c., in which case it would be read *ts'ǎk*, not *ts'jǎk*, but only cognate to c. Of these two alternatives the former seems most plausible.

141. *ch'ī* (*ī'jǎk* a) 'to scrutinize, to rebuff, to repel' etc. Kt for *ts'ê* (*d'ǎk* b) 'marsh, pool' etc. says Chu Tsün-sheng on Shu: Yü kung phr. c.: "Along the shores of the sea are wide marshes". — Reject. b. occurs frequently in Yü kung in its proper form and there is no reason why it should here appear in the guise of a Kt. In the phr. c. Sī-ma Ts'ien inst. of a. has *s i* (*sǎk* d) 'salty soil' (on which Sū Kuang says: "variant b"). All authorities agree that it is here a question of the salty soils near the sea, and this *s i* (*sǎk* d) occurs meaning 'salty soil' in Chouli: Ts'ao jen. Our *ī'jǎk* a. need not be a Kt for this *sǎk* but may stand for a homophonous *ī'jǎk* synonymous with and cognate to *sǎk*. Sū Kuang's b. reveals another text version.

142. *ch'ī* (*ī'jǎk* a) 'to scrutinize, to rebuff, repel' etc. Kt for *y i* (*ngjǎk* b) 'to go to meet' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Tso: Siang 18 phr. c.: "They went out to the defiles of mountains and marshes". — Reject. The fundamental meaning of *ch'ī* a. was 'to scrutinize', then, by extension, on the one hand 'to criticize, to rebuff', on the other hand 'to scout, to spy on'. c. = "They scouted the defiles" etc. The binome *ch'ī h o u* d. 'to scout' is common.

143. *ch' i* (*i'ia a*) 'great, extravagant' Kt for *y i* (*d'ia b*) 'to deflect, awry, depraved' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang phr. c., the last two words then forming a binome: "license and perversity, and depravity". — Unlikely, for the first two words *f a n g p' i* are not synonymous, and parallelism requires that *s i e ch' i* likewise are distinct; c. = "license and perversity, (obliquity:) depravity and extravagance".

144. *ch' i* (*d'ia a*) 'moat' Kt for *ch' ê* (*d'iat b*) 'to remove' says Cheng Hüan on Li: T'an Kung phr. c., which would stand for d.: "the offerings being removed". — Reject. *Ch' i a.* was a technical term for the gutters ("moats") placed on the canopy over a coffin (said to have been of bamboo covered with cloth). Wang Fu-chi, followed by Wang K'ai-yün: *t' i e n* (*d'ien e*) serves for *ch' i* (*i'ier f*) 'to place' (plausible since they belong to the same Hs series), and c. means: "One had applied the gutters (on the coffin's canopy)".

145. *ch' i* (*d'ia a*) 'to gallop' Kt for *y i* (*d'ia b*) 'to transfer, move, change' says Wang Nien-sun (Tsa chi) on Kuo ts'ê: Han phr. c.: "(Han sent people) to exchange the Nan-yang district (for another district)", and several other passages, e.g. a following phr. d.: "The shape of the realm was not convenient, therefore they exchanged". — Plausible. Wang adduces a good parallel e. from the authentic Chu shu ki nien (ap. Shuei king chu: Ho shuei): "With Cheng we exchanged (districts), we got Ch'i-tao".

146. *Ch o* (*tük a*) 'to peck' Kt for *t o u* (*tu b*) 'beak' says Chu Tsün-sheng, after Tuan Yü-ts'ai, who stated that "a. and b. were homophonous", referring to Ode 151 phr. c.: "He (the cormorant) does not wet his beak", which is quoted d. in Yü p'ien. — Reject. a. in this sense must have been Arch. *tüg*, because of its Hs Phonetic. Thus a. *tüg* and b. *tu* were merely synonyms.

147. *ch o* (*i'wat a*) 'spider' Kt for *t i* (*tiad b*) 'rainbow' says Lu Tê-ming on Ode 51 phr. c., since he says a. was Anc. *tiei* (Arch. *tiad*) in this binome *t i - t u n g*. Lu repeats this in gloss on Li: Yüe ling (Ki ch'un).

148. *ch o* (*d'ök a*) 'to wash; (clean-washed =) brilliant' etc. Kt for *t' i a o* (*t'io g b*) 'shrine for remote ancestors' says Cheng Chung on Chouli: Shou t'iao c., where Cheng records a *k u s h u* ancient version reading d. — Very uncertain.

149. *ch o* (*d'ök a*) 'to pull out' Kt for *t s o* (*dz'äk b*) 'to bore' etc. says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Tsai yu phr. c.: "(If he, the noble man) does not open a passage for his

*b* 茲 *c* 于之 133 *a* 治 *b* 知 *c* 治道 *d* 治官 *e* 知性命 134 *a* 治 *b* 難  
*c* 天下治 135 *a* 計 *b* 協 *c* 計日 *d* 協日 *e* 大史 *f* 協事 *g* 叶 *h* 十  
136 *a* 戰 *b* 捷 *c* 農勅而戰戰 *d* 戰戰則鄰危 137 *a* 執 *b* 接 *c* 執友 *d*  
志同者 138 *a* 摯 *b* 質 *c* 折 *d* 雪霜大執 *e* 傷折 139 *a* 執 *b* 職 *c* 執  
競 *d* 主 *e* 懋 *f* 職競 140 *a* 赤 *b* 赫 *c* 籍 *d* 赤友氏 *e* 赫拔氏 *f* 表 *g*  
斥 141 *a* 斥 *b* 澤 *c* 海濱廣斥 *d* 瀛 142 *a* 斥 *b* 逆 *c* 斥山澤之險 *d*  
斥候 143 *a* 侈 *b* 迪 *c* 放辟邪侈 144 *a* 池 *b* 徹 *c* 填池 *d* 奠徹 *e* 填

power of hearing and seeing" (i.e. lets it function). — Unnecessary. c. = "(If he) does not bring out (and employ) his power of hearing and seeing".

150. *ch o* (*tūk a*) 'to carve (jade or other precious stones)' Kt for *sh u*, *ch u* (*dīuk*, *īiuk b*) 'to be attached to, to attach' etc. says Yü Sing-wu on Ode 284 phr. c., but b. here not with its ordinary sense but meaning d. 'to continue' (after Kuang-ya); the phr. c. would have three Kt and be equal to e. = "Amplly continued is his good luck" — Reject. A wild speculation. c. = "(As if) carved and chiselled (i.e. refined) are his retainers", see Gloss 807.

151. *ch o* (*tsūk a*) 'to grasp, hold in the hand' Kt for *sh u* (*śiuk b*) 'to bind' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Keng Sang Ch'u phr. c., but b. not with its ordinary meaning but equal to d. 'to urge'; and *h u o* e. Kt for f. in the sense of 'to shut'. Ma does not explain how he understands the line. — Reject. c. probably, with Wang Sien-k'ien, means: "In the case of entanglements from the outside (sc. through the senses) you cannot, in their numerousness, get a grip on (i.e. control) them, you must in your interior (i.e. heart) raise a bar (sc. against their entrance)".

152. *ch o u* (*d'îôg a*) 'descendant' Kt for *yü* (*dîôk b*) 'to rear' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai (and others) on Shu: Yao (Shun) tien, Ku-wen, phr. c.: "to teach the (sons in rearing:) young sons"; this because the Kin-wen version has d. (P'ei Yin in common on Shiki says a. is Kt for *ch i*/d'îar e. because of "sound similarity", which is excluded). — Possible but unnecessary. c. = "to teach the descendant sons", see Gloss 1288. c. and d. then represent different text traditions.

Again, on Shu: P'an Keng phr. f. Wang Yin-chi says *dîôk b*. is Kt for *d'îôg a*.: "There will be no descendants". — Unnecessary, see Gloss 1471. f. = "There will be no remaining (reared ones =) children brought up".

153. *ch o u* (*îîôg a*) 'circle, all round, to circle' Kt for *y u* (*gîŭg b*) 'right' (as opp. to 'left') says Ma Juei-ch'en on Ode 123 phr. c. (this because another text version has b). — Reject. c. = "It grows where the road curves", see Gloss 303. When Chu Tsün-sheng says a. is here Kt for *ku e i* (*kîwag d*) "spring from the side of a well", this is very eccentric.

154. *ch o u* (*îîôg a*) 'circle, all round, to circle', etc. Kt for *ch' o u* (*dîôg b*) 'to pledge with wine a second time' says Sun Yi-jang (Cha yi) on Yen-tsi: Nei p'ien, Kien shang phr. c.: "They pledged [him] with the goblets five (wrong for "three") toasts". — Unnecessary. c. = "They all round (sc. all the guests) pledged him" etc. *Sh a n g* is often used as a verb 'to toast'.

155. *ch o u* (*îîôg a*) 'circle, all round, to circle' Kt for *sh o u* (*dîôg b*) 'long life' says Ch'en Meng-kia (K'ao ku hüe pao 12, p. 92) on the Siao Yü Ting inscr. phr. c., taking *sa n - sh o u* to be equal to the well-known phr. *sa n la o d*. "the three elders". — Unnecessary. The same inscr. has the phr. e.: "The 3 on the left and the 3 on the right and the many lords presented the service wine" (for the sacrifice). Ch'en convincingly compares this with Shu: Ku ming, which first enumerates the 6 highest princes (T'ai-pao Shī, Juei Po, T'ung Po, Pi Kung, Wei Hou, Mao Kung) and then later on says that T'ai-pao led on the princes of the West to the left of the Ying-men gate, and Pi Kung those of the East to the right of the gate; the 3 on the left = T'ai-pao, Juei Po, T'ung Po; the 3 on the right = Pi Kung, Wei Hou,



Mao Kung. It is thus clear that our *ch o u a.* 'all round' refers to the whole set of officiating princes: *c.* = "The triads of (surrounders =) attendant princes (sc. the 3 on the left and the 3 on the right) presented the service wine". *ch o u a.* = *t s o y u* 'to be on the left and the right of, to surround, attend, wait upon' is common.

156. *ch o u (i'io'g a)* 'circle, all round, to circle' etc. (Ts'i version of the Shī), or *ch o u (i'io'g b)* 'heavy in front' (one variant of the Mao version), or *t' i a o (d'io'g c)* 'to adjust' (orthodox Mao version), all Kt for *ch a o (ti'og d)* 'morning' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Ode 10 phr. e., referring to Mao's definition *a. (b.) = d.* Thus e.: "Longing for him as if morning-hungry". — Refuted in Gloss 35. *a.* and *b.* and *c.* are all Kt for *ch o u (ti'og f)* 'daylight', in the sense of dawn after darkness, i.e. morning. The meaning of the line will be the same.

157. *ch o u (i'io'g a)* 'to succour' Kt for *k i u (ki'og b)* 'to examine and chastise (faults)' says Tu Tsī-ch'un on Chouli: *Ta sī t'u* phr. *c.*: (5 tang districts make on chou district), "he causes them to examine and chastise each other". — Reject. Cheng Hūan simply: "He causes them to succour each other".

158. *ch o u (i'io'g a)* 'to pull out' Kt for *y u (di'og b)* 'to ramble' says Kuo Mo-jo on the Shī Sung Kuei inser. phr. *c.* Kuo takes this *c.* to be equal to *d.*, in which *sh u a i* would be a "particle" and mean nothing, *o u (ngu e.)* would be equal to *a o (ngog f.)*, thus: "They rambled to Ch'eng Chou". — *ngu* for *ngog* is plainly impossible. — Again, *ch o u a.* would be Kt for *ch' a o (d'io'g g)* says Yang Shu-ta who takes *e.* as equal to *o u (ngu h)*, interpreting *c.* as = *i.*: "He led his (mates, comrades:) henchmen and went to audience in Ch'eng Chou". As to the first two words this is far better than Kuo's interpr. — Some authors (Liu Sin-yüan, Yü Sing-wu and others) have taken *a.* as short-form for *li (li'ed n)*. This is in pre-Han texts only known meaning 'callus' (Lü shī ch'un ts'iu), from Han time 'misshapen and perverse' etc. and then considered as variant for *li (li'ed o)* 'violent, perverse'; and since this latter graph is often used for *li (li'ed)* 'to come to', Liu and followers conclude that our *a.* could also mean 'to come to'. Highly unsound. — Our *ch o u (i'io'g a)* is only known, in pre-Han text, meaning 'to pull out', e.g. Lü: Tsie tsang phr. *j.*: "to pull out the liver" (Kao Yu here wrongly says it is a variant of *ch' o u [d'io'g k]* with which it is only cognate). It is possible that from 'to pull out' by extension of meaning *ch o u a.* may mean 'to pull oneself out' = 'to start'; cf.

f 寘 145 a 馳 b 移 c 馳南陽之地 d 國形不便故馳 e 及鄭馳我取  
 和道 146 a 嚼 b 味 c 不濡其味 d 其嚼 147 a 蠲 b 端 c 蠲蠹 148  
 a 濯 b 祧 c 守祧 d 守濯 149 a 擢 b 鑿 c 無擢其聰明 150 a 琢 b  
 屬 c 敦琢其旅 d 績 e 純屬其魯 151 a 捉 b 束 c 夫外獲者不可繫  
 而捉將內撻 d 促 e 獲 f 戶 152 a 胄 b 育 c 教胄子 d 教育子 e 穉  
 f 無遺育 153 a 周 b 右 c 生于道周 d 汎 154 a 周 b 酢 c 周觴五  
 獻 155 a 周 b 壽 c 三周入服商 d 三老 e 三左三右 多君入服酉

that f a l. 'to throw out (as an arrow), to send forth' also, by extension, can mean 'to start' (on a journey), as in Ode 105 phr. m. Thus our line c.: "He led his (mates, comrades:) henchmen and started for Ch'eng Chou".

159. c h o u (*i'ôg* a) 'boat' Kt for c h' o u (*d'ôg* b) 'to pledge with wine a second time' says Yü Yüe on Ode 250 phr. c.: "By what shall we pledge him". — Unnecessary. Mao takes a. as Kt for the homophonous c h o u (*i'ôg* d), what is convincing, see Gloss 630. c. = "With what is he (encirled:) engirdled".

160. c h o u (*i'ôk* a) 'rice gruel' Kt for y ü (*d'ôk* b) 'to sell' (Li, Meng etc.); The 2nd form also for y ü (*d'ôk* c) 'to breed, rear' (Odes), see Gloss 379.

161. c h' o u (*d'ôg* a) 'to pay back, respond, opponent' etc. Kt for c h' o u (*d'ôg* b) 'dense' in Shu: Wei ts'i phr. c.: "One (densely, thickly, amply:) heavily levies taxes", see Gloss 1509; in fact, Ma Jung's version in the Shu phr. had b. inst. of a. But Yü Yüe, believing that he builds on Cheng Hüan, says a. is Kt for c h' o u (*d'ôg* d) 'ploughed field', here = 'private field', thus c.: "One levies taxes on the private fields", which is far-fetched. Wu K'ai-sheng would take *d'ôg* a. as Kt for k' i u (*g'ôg* e) 'to bring together', even more improbable.

Again, on Shu: Shao kao phr. f. Sun Sing-yen would take a. as Kt for b.: "the King's (dense:) numerous people". — Refuted in Gloss 1745; f. = "the king's hostile people" (i.e. the vanquished Yin).

162. c h' o u (*d'ôg* a) 'to pay back, respond, opponent' etc. Kt for c h' o u (*d'ôg* b) 'ploughed field, territory' says Sun Yi-jang (Cha yi) on Kuots'ê: Chao 1 phr. c., which Sun says is equal to d., the t s o (*ts'ak* e) 'oak' being Kt for t s i (*dz'äk* f) 'field register'; thus c. = (He divided Chao's realm into 3 parts and inscribed it on ritual bronze vessels) "and recorded it in the field registers". — Bold but tempting. Pao Piao had made a forced interpr., taking e. to stand for t s o g. 'to pledge'; c. = "He annexed it in between his populations".

On the other hand, when c h' o u b. is Kt for a homophonous word h. 'mate, companion' (Shu etc.), Ho Yi-hang (Erya yi su) would have it to be identical with c h' o u a.; yet it is not homophonous with a., only cognate to it.

Again, on Shu: Tsiu kao phr. i. Sun Yi-jang (Chou K' iung shu lin 3:16) says that it is equal to j.: "your peers". The phr. i., however, has quite another purport: "the one who (conforms himself to =) carefully attends to the territories", see Gloss 1689.

163. c h' o u (*d'ôg* a) 'ploughed field' Kt for k o u (*ku* b) 'old' says Liu Sin-yüan (K' i ku 4:16) on the Tou Pi Kuei inscr. phr. c.: "old age". — Reject. Kuo Mo-jo,

156 a 周 b 朝 c 調 d 朝 e 怒如周飢 f 晝 157 a 賙 b 糾 c 使之相賙  
158 a 整 b 遊 c 帥軺整于成周 d 率遨遊于成周 e 享輿 = 竭 f 遨 g 朝  
h 偶 i 帥偶朝于成周 j 整肝 k 抽 l 發 m 齊子發夕 n 整 o 庚 159  
a 舟 b 酬 c 何以舟之 d 周 160 a 粥鬻 b 賣 c 育 161 a 離 b 稠 c  
離斂 d 疇 e 迷 f 王之離民 162 a 離 b 疇 c 屬之離柞 d 屬之疇籍  
e 柞 f 籍 g 酢 h 儔 i 若疇 j 若離 163 a 畧 b 耆 c 畧耆 d 考 e 稠

not accepting Liu's idea, says a. is = s h o u 'old age' and the 2nd char. in c. is the writer's slip for k' a o (*k'ôg* d), thus c. = s h o u k' a o. An amusing juggling with the words. — Probably a. is Kt for the homophonous c h' o u (*d'îôg* e) 'dense, rich, ample'; c. = "ample old age".

164. c h' o u (*d'îôg* a) 'to reject' Kt for c h' o u (*t'îôg* b) 'ugly says Chu Hi (following up a definition of Cheng Hsün's) on Ode 81 phr. c.: 'Do not find me ugly'. — Rejected in Gloss 227. c. = "Do not reject me".

165. c h' o u (*t'îôg* a) 'ugly' Kt for c h' o u (*d'îôg* b) 'category, group (= crowd)' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Odes 168, 178 phr. c.: "We have caught a (group:) crowd". — *t'îôg* a. 'ugly' is Kt for a homophonous *t'îôg* 'category, crowd', which is cognate to but not id. with *d'îôg* b.; no ancient tradition has it that a. should be read *d'îôg*. Cf. Gloss 438. — Some Han-time writers took a. as Kt for s h o u (*śîôg* d) 'head': "We have caught heads". — Unnecessary, see the same Gloss 438.

166. c h' o u (*t'îôg* a) 'ugly' Kt for k' a o (*k'ôg* b) 'end of spine, rump' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: Nei tsê phr. c. "On the turtle one removes (does not eat) the rump". — Reject. Immediately before, in the same passage, there is d.: "On the hare one removes the rump", and our a. here cannot then be a Kt for b. in the same line. C h' o u 'ugly' = 'the ugly part' means 'anus'. c. = "On the turtle one removes the [parts about] the anus". — Again, on the same phr. c., Cheng Hsün defines a. as meaning the turtle's 'hole' k' i a o (*k'îog* e.), and Chang Ping-lin (Wen shī 166) believes that Cheng took a. to be Kt for e. Reject.

167. c h' o u (*t'îôg* a) 'ugly; category, crowd' Kt for c h' o u (*d'îôg* b) 'to pay back, to respond' says Yü Sing-wu on Kuan: Nei ye phr. c. (Heaven gives the t s i n g d. essence and Earth gives the h i n g e. bodily shape, when a man is born, if the two are h o f. in harmony; when you would scrutinize this harmony:) c. "The essence is not visible and the c h e n g (verification =) visible result (i.e. body) does not correspond" (whatever that may mean). — c. = "The essence is not visible and the (verifications:) visible features (observable results in the shape of the body) are (not a crowd, not numerous:) few".

168. c h' o u (*d'îôg* a) 'to bind round' Kt for t' a o (*t'ôg* b) 'to wrap' says Lu Tê-ming on Li: T'an Kung, shang phr. c.: "putting up flag (staffs) wrapped with white silk". — Unnecessary; c h' o u a. gives the same meaning, and Sū Miao reads it in the ordinary way Anc. *d'îǝu* = Arch. *d'îôg*.

169. c h' o u (*dǝ'îôg* a) 'grieved' Kt for t s' i a o (*dz'îog* b) 'distressed' says Yü Yüe on Lü: Shun min phr. c.: "One who was distressed and destitute". This because there is the well-known binome d. in Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou. — Unnecessary. The text unaltered makes good sense: "One who was grieved and distressed".

170. c h' o u (*dǝ'îôg* a) 'grieved' Kt for ts'iao (*dz'îog* b) 'to reprove, chastise' says Ma Sū-lun on Chuang: Keng Sang Ch'u phr. c. in the sense of d.: "For ten days he chastised himself". — Unnecessary. Moreover, the sense of d. for b. is not attested earlier than in Han shu. Thus c. unaltered: "For ten days he afflicted himself".

171. c h' o u (*dǝ'îôg* a) 'grieved' Kt for l u (*glîôk* b) 'to kill' says Ma Sū-lun on Chuang: Sū Wu Kuei phr. c.: "He did not understand why his own person would

be killed". — Reject. c. = "He did not understand why his own person would (be grieved =) come to grief".

172. *ch' o u* (*t' iōg a*) 'to pull out' Kt for *li u* (*liōg b*) 'to flow' says Ma Sū-lun on Chuang: T'ien ti phr. c. "(The shadoof) raises the water as if it flowed"; this because T'ai p'ing yü lan 765 quotes b. inst. of a. — Reject. c. = "It raises the water as if it pulled it out".

173. *ch' o u* (*t' iōg, d' iōg a*) 'agitated' Kt for *ta o* (*d' og b*) 'sad' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 208 phr. c., this because Cheng Hūan defined a. by b. — Refuted in Gloss 657. c. = "I am grieved in my heart and agitated".

174. *ch u* (*dz' iō a*) 'to cooperate in field work' Kt for *tsi* (*dz' iāk b*) 'Royal field' says Cheng Chung on Chouli: Li tsai phr. c.: "He brings together the pairs of ploughers in the Royal field". — Reject. Tu Tsī-ch'un rightly says that a. is the same as *ch u* (*dz' iō d*) 'to assist'. c. = "He brings together the pairs of ploughers in the [place for] the cooperative work".

175. *ch u* (*t iō a*) 'place, to place, take a position' Kt for *ch' u* (*t' iō b*) 'place, to place' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Kyü: Tsin yü 4 phr. c.: "If you remain (placed =) stationary and are (blocked =) at a stand-still lengthily". — Unnecessary. *t iō a*. in this sense is common and well attested and should certainly not be read *t' iō*.

Again, Chu says a. is Kt for b. in Li: Ming t'ang wei phr. d. — Reject. The char. a., properly *ch u* (*t iō*) as above, has been applied as Kt for a word *ch o* (*t iak*) 'to place' and *ch o* (*d' iak*) 'to attach', and as such serves for 'vessel (without legs) directly placed (attached to) the ground'. c. = "The *ch o* (legless vessel) was the vase of the Yin". *t iō* for *t iak*, *d' iak* is not a phonetic Kt but a synonym Kt (class E in our Introduction).

176. *ch u* (*t iō a*) 'place, to place' is Kt for *ch u* (*d' iō b*) 'place between gate and gate-screen' in Ode 98 and various other texts.

177. *ch u* (*t iō a*) 'place, to place' Kt for *l ü* (*liō b*) 'to think, think of' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: Tsi yi phr. c.: "When he brings to the utmost his love, he keeps them (sc. the dead parents) alive, when he brings to the utmost his sincerity, he thinks (longingly) of them". This is because Cheng Hūan says: "t' s' u n and *ch u* express d. his thinking (longingly) of them". — Reject. *ch u* (*t iō a*) is often used as

164 a 醜 b 醜 c 無戎醜兮 165 a 醜 b 儻 c 獲醜 d 首 166 a 醜 b 尻 c 鼈去醜 d 兔去尻 e 竅 167 a 醜 b 醜 c 其精不見其微不醜 d 精 e 形 f 和 168 a 綢 b 韜 c 綢練設旒 169 a 愁 b 樵 c 愁悴不瞻者 d 樵悴 170 a 愁 b 謀 c 十日自愁 d 讓 171 a 愁 b 戰 c 不知其身之所以愁 172 a 抽 b 流 c 挈水如抽 173 a 妯 b 婢 c 憂心且妯 174 a 勑 b 藉 c 合耦于勑 d 助 175 a 著 b 處 c 底著滯淫 d 著殷尊也 176 a 著 b 宇 177 a 著 b 慮 c 致愛則存致愁則著 d 思念 e 孔

Kt for a homophonous word *ch u* (*tio*) 'to appear, clearly visible, manifest, evident', e.g. Meng: T'eng Wen Kung phr. e. "If the principles of K'ung-tsi are not clearly manifested", etc. This is with Ch'en Hao and, later, Wang Fu-chi the meaning of a. here: c. = "When he brings to the utmost his love, they are alive (to him), when he brings to the utmost his sincerity, they are clearly visible (to him)". Wang K'ai-yün would take a. in its loan-reading *ch o* (*tjak*, *d'jak*): "... sincerity, he *ch o* f. keeps hold of them", which is certainly no improvement.

178. *ch u* (*tio* a) 'place, to place' Kt for *fu* (*piwo* b) says Yü Sing-wu on Mo: Kung Meng phr. c.: "to tax". — Reject. Sun Yi-jang surmises that a. is a graphical corruption of d., which is very unlikely; a. should here be read *ch o* (*tjak*, *d'jak*) and c. means: "he applies taxes".

179. *ch u* (*tio* a) 'many' etc. Kt for *ch u*, *ts ü* (*tsio* b) 'preserves' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: Nei tsê phr. c., this since Ch'en Hao defined a. by b. — Cheng Hün in comm. on Chouli: Pien jen phr. d. "dried preserves" identifies these with c., which will then mean: "dried walnuts and dried plums". Ordinarily *ch u* b. means 'pickled food, preserves in vinegar', but the same word b. can also mean 'dried herbs', as in Kuan: K'ing chung phr. e.: "dried herbs and firewood". It would seem then that the fundamental sense of *tsio* b is simply 'to preserve, keep from rotting', and c. means as stated above, Chu being right.

180. *ch u* (*tio* a) 'sack for clothes' Kt for *s ü* (*snio* b) 'silk floss' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Tso: Ch'eng 3 phr. c.: "He planned to place him (sc. Sün Ying) in the silk floss [container]". — Reject. c. = "He planned to place him in a sack for clothes".

181. *ch u* (*tio* a) 'to store' Kt for *yü* (*dio* b) 'to give' says Wang Kuo-wei on the Sung Ting inscr. phr. c.: "... made a gift of 20 families". Similarly, T'ang Lan on the Ling Tsun inscr. (Kuo hie ki k'an 4:1, p. 27) says *ch u* (*d'io* d) 'space between gate and screen' is Kt for b. 'to give'. — Both plausible.

Again, Kuo Mo-jo on the Ko Po Kuei inscr. phr. e. says a. is Kt for *ts u* (*tso* f): "... gave in lease 30 fields". — Unnecessary. e. = "... he gave (in exchange) 30 fields".

182. *ch u* (*tio* a) 'master, principal, important' etc. Kt for *ch ung* (*tiong* b) 'multitude' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ta Tai li: Wei tsiang tsün Wen tsî phr. c. (this because of a variant in K'ung tsî kia yü). — Reject. Both K'ung Kuang-sen and Wang P'ing-chen punctuate after *jen*, carrying *ch u jen* to a preceding pronouncement of Confucius' (*ch u jen* = d.): "It depends on the man; (when he) heard this etc.". Sun Yi-jang more simply: c. = "When the host (i.e. Kung-si Ch'i whom Confucius addressed) heard this, he thereby became perfected".

183. *ch u* (*d'iu* a) 'to stop' Kt for *sh u* (*slü* b) 'number, many' says Chang Chan on Lie: Huang ti phr. c.: "(The birds that came were) a hundred and more and never ceased". Yü Yüe says the same on Lie: Yang Chu phr. d.: "(The guests in his hall were) daily a hundred and more". — Doubtful because of the initials. The word *ch u* (*tio*, *tio* e), *inter alia* means 'to bring together', as in Chouli: Shou jen phr. f., and our a. may be Kt for e. (the same Hs series); c. = "(The birds) by hundreds assembled"; d. = "(The guests) by hundreds assembled (in his hall)".

184. *ch u* (*d'iu a*) 'pillar' Kt for *ch u* (*tjók b*) 'to break' (*b*. occurs in this sense in Ku-liang: Ai 13 and Kung-yang: Ai 14) says Wang Yin-chi on Sün: K'üan hüe phr. *c.*: "The strong cause themselves to be broken, the weak cause themselves to be (wrapped:) protected". Ta Tai li: K'üan hüe has *d.* in the same passage. — Reject. *a.* is probably Kt for *ch u* (*iü, tju e*), within the same Hs series. *e.* has the meaning of 'to direct, to aim at, to hit': *c.* = "The strong cause themselves to be (aimed at =) hit, the weak cause themselves to be protected", the meaning merely analogous to that in Ta Tai li.

185. *ch u* (*iü, tju a*) 'to conduct water, to direct, to bring together' Kt for *t o u* (*tu b*) 'beak' says Sun Yi-jang on Chouli: Tsī jen phr. *c.*: "Those who give sound by their beak". Lu Tê-ming on Kung-yang: Chuang 7 had already said that *a.* = *b.* — Plausible.

186. *ch u* (*iü, tju a*) 'to conduct water, to direct' etc. Kt for *ch u* (*iük b*) 'to attach' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Tso: Siang 23 phr. *c.*: "Again he attached [an arrow to the string]". — Reject. *ch u a.* is common in the sense of 'to apply', due to an extension of meaning: 'to direct > to apply'. Thus *c.* = "Again he applied [an arrow]".

Again, on Chuang: Ta sheng phr. *d.* Chu Tsün-sheng says *a.* is Kt for *t' o u* (*d'u e*) 'to throw': "The one who for [the prize of] a tile throws (the arrow in the game *t' o u h u*) uses skill". This is confirmed by Lü: K'ü yu which quotes Chuang-tsī as *f*, where *g*, as shown by Hung Yi-süan, is a variant of *t' o u e*. Li Kuei (ap. Lu Tê-ning) had defined *a.* as = *h.* 'to strike', which might well describe a throwing movement. Lie: Huang-ti quotes *k' o u* (*k'u i*) for *a.*, but this cannot, as Hung believes, be a phonetic Kt but is an interpretation by a synonym.

187. *ch u* (*iük a*) 'to attach, apply' Kt for *ch u* (*iü, tju b*) 'to conduct water, to pour, to direct' etc. says Chu Tsün-sheng on Yili: Shī hun li phr. *c.*: "(The wine) thrice is poured into the Tsun vessel"; this because Cheng Hūan here defined *a.* by *b.* — Reject. *ch u a.* need not be a Kt at all, since its ordinary meaning makes good sense: "(The wine) thrice is applied in the Tsun vessel".

Again, on Chouli: Tsiang jen phr. *d.* Cheng Hūan directly says that *a.* is Kt for *b.* But here again *a.* has its fundamental sense: *d.* = "When the water-flow is (applied:)"

子之道不著 *f* 著手 178 *a* 著 *b* 賦 *c* 著稅 *d* 籍 179 *a* 諸 *b* 菹 *c* 桃

諸梅諸 *d* 乾籜 *e* 菹薪 180 *a* 褚 *b* 絮 *c* 將寘諸褚中 181 *a* 貯 *b* 予  
*c* 貯廿家 *d* 宇 *e* 貯廿田 *f* 租 182 *a* 主 *b* 眾 *c* 主人聞之以成 *d* 在  
於人 183 *a* 住 *b* 數 *c* 百住而不止 *d* 日百住 *e* 注 *f* 今禽注于虞中  
184 *a* 柱 *b* 祝 *c* 強自取柱柔自取束 *d* 強自取析 185 *a* 注 *b* 味 *c* 以  
注鳴者 186 *a* 注 *b* 屬 *c* 又注 *d* 以瓦注者巧 *e* 投 *f* 以瓦投者翔 *g*  
投 *h* 擊 *i* 樞 187 *a* 屬 *b* 注 *c* 三屬於尊 *d* 水屬不理孫 *e* 孫遜 *f* 順

placed (sc. by the canal builders) without reckoning with where it is passable, (then it is called a stoppage)". (e. = f.).

Similarly, on Kyü: Tsin yü 5 phr. g.: "I fear that the people of the state will direct their ears and eyes to me", Wei Chao says h.: "a. is equal to b."; but here again a. has its own meaning. In fact, due to these extensions of meaning the two words *t̃iu* b. and *t̃iuk* a. have come to be fairly synonymous. A typical case is Kyü: Tsi yü 4 phr. i.: "They will (apply enmity =) become unfriendly", which is parallel to Kuan: Ta K'ang phr. j.: "They will (direct enmity =) become unfriendly". There is really no Kt here, only synonymity.

188. *c h u* (*t̃iuk* a) 'to attach, apply' Kt for *t' o* (*t'ák* b) 'to entrust' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Sü Wu Kuei phr. c.: "To whom will it be best for me to entrust the state?", and on Lü: Kuei kung phr. d. — Reject. *c h u* a. occurs here with an extension of meaning: "To whom will it be best for me to (apply:) allot [the government of] the state?"

189. *c h u* (*t̃iu* a) 'red' Kt for *t'ao* (*d'óg* b) 'dull' says Chu Tsün-sheng, followed by Chang Ping-lin, on Chuang: Keng Sang Ch'u phr. c.: "People call me dull and stupid". — Reject. b. in the reading *d'óg* and meaning 'dull' is taken from Shuowen and unknown from texts. *C h u* a. stands for d. 'dull', which is attested in Huai: Ts'i su.

190. *c h u* (*t̃iu* a) 'red' Kt for *c h u* (*d'iu* b) 'pillar' says Kuo Mo-jo on the Mao Kuei inscr. phr. c.: "One has taken away a pillar of our House". — Ingenious; but it is very uncertain whether the last char. is really a.

191. *c h u* (*t̃iók* a) 'bamboo' Kt for *t u* (*d'uk* b) 'a kind of creeper' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Ode 55 phr. c. — *t̃iók* and *d'uk* are the readings of the Mao and the Han schools resp. The one is not necessarily a Kt for the other, see Gloss 150.

192. *c h u* (*t̃iók* a) 'to pound' etc. Kt for *to*, *cho* (*twát*, *t̃iwat* b) 'to pick' says Yüan Yüan (Kiao k'an ki) on Shu: Kin t'eng phr. c.: "All (the crops) which the great trees (when falling) had bent down, they raised and plucked them". — Reject. This interpr. of the passage was that of Ma Jung (followed by Cheng Hüan and Wang Su) who defined a. as = d. 'to pick'. Obviously *t̃iók* cannot be Kt for a *twát*, *t̃iwat*. But the variant e., properly meaning 'guitar', may give the key to Ma's curious idea: 'to guitar' = 'to pick, to pluck'. This, however, is evidently a wrong track, as realized by K'ung Ying-ta: *c h u* a. regularly means 'to build up by pounding earth', and c. = (The princes ordered the people) "in regard to all great trees which [the wind] had overthrown, to raise them all and earth them up".

193. *c h u* (*d'iók* a) 'to pursue' Kt for *c h o u* (*t̃ióg*, *d'ióg* b) 'pain, suffering' says Wang Yin-chi (Shu wen) on Erya: Shī ku phr. c. — This is not a mere dictionary entry. On Ode 56 phr. d. Cheng Hüan says that *c h u* (*d'iók* e) 'wheel-axle' means f. 'suffering', and K'ung Ying-ta concludes that Cheng had the Erya entry c. in mind, a. and e. being merely two variants. Both a. and e. would then, with Wang Yin-chi, be Kt for b. (in Yi: Kua 26, Lu Tê-ming reads a. both *d'iók* and *d'ióg*). Now, Cheng Hüan was certainly wrong in his interpr. of the Ode line (e. being really Kt for *t i* [*d'iók* g] 'to advance', with Mao Heng), see Gloss 163, but Cheng's idea: a. = e. Kt for b, is no doubt correctly analyzed by Wang.

194. *c h u* (*d'io̯k a*) 'to pursue, drive out' Kt for *c h o u* (*d'io̯g b*) 'descendant, son of principal wife' says Chang Ping-lin on Kuan: Kün ch'en, hia phr. c. The traditional interpr. (Yin Chi-chang) was simply: "They openly favoured and promoted [secondary sons], but they did not by driving away a son (sc. the heir) injure the right principles" (as was often done, many famous instances in Tso chuan). Chang argues that the passage is a sequence of 4-syllabled phrases, hence he declares the last two words (*shang yi*) to be "an interpolation" and *y i d.* would be equal to *y ü e.*, thus: "but they (sc. the secondary sons) did not *y ü* become equals of the *c h o u - t s i* principal son". Exceedingly forced. — The chapter has a constant alternation of 4-syllables and 6-syllables phrases, and the traditional interpr. is good, without tampering with the text.

195. *c h u* (*iio̯k a*) 'prayer' and *c h o u* (*iio̯g a*) 'to curse' Kt for *c h u* (*iio̯g b*) 'to cast' says Kuo Mo-jo on the Yüe Wang Chung inscr. phr. c. — Plausible. As pointed out by Wang Kuo-wei, the state called Chu a. in Li: Yüe ki is called Chu b. in Lü: Shen ta in for the rest identical sentences.

196. *c h u* (*iio̯k a*) 'prayer, to recite' Kt for *c h i* (*iio̯k b*) 'to weave, to plait' says Mao Heng on Ode 53 phr. c.: "With white silk one has plaited them". — Reject. Cheng Hün says a. is Kt for *c h u* (*iio̯k d*) 'to attach', thus c.: "With white silk one has made attachments to them". — Plausible, see Gloss 143.

Again, a. Kt for *c h u* (*iio̯u, iio̯e*) 'to conduct water, to pour' says Cheng Hün on Chouli: Shang yi phr. f.: "to pour medicine" (repeated by Sun Yi-jang on Mo: Fei kung, chung, same phr. f). — Reject. a. is here likewise Kt for d. 'to attach, to apply': f. = "to apply medicine".

197. *c h u* (*iio̯k a*) 'prayer, to recite' Kt for *c h' u* (*iio̯k b*) 'to commence' says Yen Shi-ku (comm. on Han shu: Lü li ch'i) referring to Shu: Kao Yao mo phr. c. From Han time onwards there has been the theory that the *c h u* a. was a tube used as signal for starting a piece of music. But for this there is no ancient support, see Gloss 1343. *C h u* a. was some kind of sounding-box, the etymology of the word being quite obscure.

198. *c h u* (*iio̯k a*) 'torch, to illumine, shine' Kt for *c h a o* (*iio̯g b*) 'to illumine' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: T'ien yün phr. c.: "I let it (sc. the music) shine with the

g 恐國人之屬耳目於我也 h 屬猶注 i 屬怒焉 j 注怒焉 188 a 屬  
b 託 c 寡人惡乎屬國而可 d 寡人將誰屬國 189 a 朱 b 銅 c 人謂  
我朱愚 d 鉢 190 a 案(朱) b 柱 c 取我家室 191 a 竹 b 薄 c 練竹  
192 a 簞(筮) b 掇 c 凡大木所偃盡起而築之 d 拾 e 筑 193 a 逐 b 疔  
c 逐=病也 d 碩人之軸 e 軸 f 病 g 迪 194 a 逐 b 宵 c 明立寵設不  
以逐子傷義 d 以 e 與 195 a 祝 b 鑄 c 祝禾(籩)稟(禱) o (鍾) 196 a  
祝 b 織 c 素絲祝之 d 屬 e 注 f 祝藥 197 a 祝 b 倣 c 合止祝歌



brightness of sun and moon". — Reject. An unnecessary speculation, since the original graph gives the same meaning.

199. *c h' u* (*d'io a*) 'to eliminate' Kt for *s h u* (*šio b*) 'to stretch out, expand' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 166 phr. c.: "For what felicity does it (sc. Heaven) not open up the way". This because Mao defined *a.* by *d.* — A better expl. is given by Yü Yüe: *a.* Kt for the homophonous *c h' u* (*d'io e*) 'to accumulate': *c.* = "What felicity is not heaped (on you)", see Gloss 434.

On the other hand, Chu Tsün-sheng says *a.* is Kt for *e.* in Yi: Kua 45 phr. f.: "The superior man then accumulates weapons" (in order to prepare against surprises). — Plausible. Indeed, Lu Tê-ming here registers the variant *e.* (Cheng Hün ap. Lu Tê-ming says *a.* = *g.* "The superior man puts aside the weapons", which makes poor sense here; Wang Su ap. Lu says *a.* = *h.*: "The superior man puts in repair the weapons", for which there are no text parallels).

When Chu, however, proposes *a.* Kt for *e.* also in Ode 189 phr. i, this makes no sense; *i.* = "where wind and rain are eliminated".

200. *c h' u* (*d'io a*) 'to eliminate' Kt for *s h e* (*šid b*) 'to put aside, give up' says Ma Sü-lun on Lao 10 phr. c.: "Wash away and give up the obscure (sc. mystical) watchings (observations)" (sc. in the mind). — Unnecessary: *ti c h' u* 'to wash away' is a natural binome.

201. *c h' u* (*i'io a*) 'place, to dwell, stay, keep still' Kt for *s h u* (*šio b*) 'hidden suffering' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Lü: Ai shī phr. c. = "Yang-ch'eng Sü-k'ü was ill". This because Kao Yu defines *a.* here by *d.* — Unnecessary. *c.* = "Y. S. kept still (in his house)", did not go out, being a sick man. But Wen Yi-to would apply Chu's idea also to Ode 22 phr. e.: "Afterwards she was suffering". Again unnecessary. *e.* = "Afterwards she had to live with (us)".

202. *c h' u* (*i'io k a*) 'to commence' Kt for *c h u* (*tiók b*) 'to pound, build' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 259 phr. c. "There was the (pounding:) building of its walls". Ma Juei-ch'en instead says that *a.* is Kt for *s h u* (*d'io k d*) 'good': *c.* = "Good were its walls". — Both refuted in Gloss 886. *c.* = "They started work on its walls" (with Mao Heng).

Again, in Ode 247 phr. e., Cheng Hün, defining *a.* as = *f.*, 'thick, ample' (after Erya), evidently took *a.* to be Kt for *t u* (*tók g*) 'solid, ample': *e.* = "The good end is ample". Hū Shen here takes *a.* to be Kt for *d.*: "The good end is (good:) happy". — All refuted in Gloss 886. *e.* = "The good end has its beginning" (with Mao Heng).

Again, on Ode 212 phr. h., Cheng Hün says that *i'io k a.* is Kt for *c h' i* (*i'æg i*) 'to blaze', which, however, following Fang yen, would here mean 'to put (the plough) into the soil' (Chu Tsün-sheng then says *i'æg i.* in its turn is Kt for *c h i* [*d'æk j*] 'to plant'. — Reject, see Gloss 683. *h.* = "We start [work] on the southern acres".

Again, Chu Tsün-sheng says *i'io k a.* is Kt for *ju* (*hiuk k.*) 'ample' in Kung-yang: Yin 9 phr. 1: "(The snow was) ample and excessive". Wang Yin-chi, on the other hand, reminds of Cheng Hün's (erroneous) gloss (*a.* = *g.*) on Ode 247 and says *c h' u s h e n* means "thick and excessive". Ch'en Li soberly points out that *c h' u a.* 'to begin' serves as synonym to *s h i m.* and that *c h' u s h e n l.* is

equal to *shī shēn n.*: “really excessive”, analogous to *shī tā o.* and similar expressions.

203. *ch’u* (*î’iu a*) ‘pivot’ Kt for *y ü*, *t’u* (*d’iu, d’u b*) ‘opening, small gate’ says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Tao Chī phr. c.: “They dug through the [walls of] houses and made holes in the gates”. Sī-ma Piao had explained it: “They (pivoted =) broke the pivots of the doors”, which is certainly bad. — Sun Yi-jang more simply: *î’iu* for *a.* is Lu Tê-ming’s reading, but Sü Miao read *a. k’o u* (*k’u*), thus taking *a.* to stand for *k’o u* (*k’u d*) ‘to pull up’; in fact, one text version has *d.* inst. of *a.* Thus c. = “They dug through the [walls of] houses and (pulled up =) broke away the doors”.

204. *ch u a n* (*dž’iwan a*) ‘to create’ Kt for *s u a n* (*swán b*) ‘to count’ says Cheng Hüan on Chouli: Ta sī ma phr. c.: “He counts the chariots and foot-soldiers”. — Rather Kt for *s ü a n* (*sīwan d.*) which often precisely means ‘to count’, see Gloss 68. *sīwan* and *swán* are two aspects of the same word-stem. When Lu Tê-ming (but not Ts’ie yün) for *d.* gives an alternative reading *swán*, it is precisely because he knows of Cheng Hüan’s Kt idea above.

205. *ch u a n* (*dž’iwan a*) ‘food, to provide food’ Kt for *t s ü n* (*tsiwan b*) ‘remains of food’ says Tuan Yü-ts’ai on Lun: Wei cheng phr. c., where the reading *a.* was Ma Jung’s text version, *b.* was Cheng Hüan’s. — With the *a.* version the interpr. will be: “When there is some task, the younger take the toil on them, when there is wine and food, the elders are provided with food”. In order to make sense of the *b.* version K’ung Kuang-sen has tried to punctuate after *tsiu*: *yu tsiu, shī sien sheng tsün* (parallelism between *yu shī — yu tsiu*): “When there is wine, they (the younger) eat the remains of food (left by) the elders”; if this is right, *a.* in Ma’s version could be Kt for *b.* But the construction is forced: “When there is wine” makes poor sense. — It is true that *t s ü n* (*tsiwan b*) means ‘remains of food’, as in Li: K’ü li phr. *d.* But this *b.* can also be Kt for *s u n* (*swán e*) ‘cooked rice, meal’, as in Kung-yang, Chao 25 phr. *f.*: “the cooked rice and cooked meat are not ready”, on which Ho Hui says: *b.* = *g.* ‘cooked rice’; so also Kuang-ya: “*b.* = cooked rice” (Wang Nien-sun: *b.* Kt for *e.*). Thus Cheng Hüan’s version of *c.* means quite the same as Ma Jung’s: “the elders are given a meal”. Ma had *dž’iwan* and Cheng had *swán*, both meaning ‘food, meal’. It is impossible to decide which version best represents the original Lun.

198 a 燭 b 照 c 燭之以日月之明 199 a 除 b 舒 c 何福不除 d 開 e

儲 f 君子以除戎器 g 去 h 修 i 風雨攸除 200 a 除 b 捨 c 滌除玄覽 201 a 處 b 癘 c 陽城胥渠處 d 病 e 其後也處 202 a 倣 b 築 c 有倣其城 d 淑 e 今終有倣 f 厚 g 篤 h 倣載南畝 i 穡 j 植 k 蓐 l 倣甚 m 始 n 始甚 o 始大 203 a 樞 b 窬 c 穴室樞戶 d 樞 204 a 撰 b 算 c 撰車徒 d 選 205 a 饌 b 餽 c 有事弟子服其勞有酒食先生饌 d 餽餘不祭 e 飧 f 餽饗未就 g 熟食 206 a 膊 b 膊 c 膊路 d 肫

206. *ch u a n* (*îiwan* a) 'cut meat' Kt for *sh u a n* (*dîwan* b) 'haunch' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Yili: Shao lao kuei sī li phr. c.: "leg bones". But the char. b. is not known from pre-Han texts. — In Yili: T'ê sheng kuei sī li there is the same phr. written d., and here again Tuan says e. is Kt for b. But for both characters in these two passages Lu Tê-ming gives the readings Anc. *tšiuēn* (Arch. *îiwan*) and Anc. *ziuēn* (Arch. *dîwan*). Evidently *îiwan*, *dîwan* e. 'whole slice of meat' was Kt for a homophonous word 'leg bone', and *îiwan* a. 'cut meat' in its turn was Kt for the same word.

207. *ch u a n* (*tîwan* a) 'to turn round' Kt for *k ü a n* (*kiwan* b) 'to jump' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Tso: Chao 31 phr. c.: "He (sc. a boy seen in a dream) jumped about and sang". — Reject. b. = 'to jump' is a definition in Shuowen, with no text support. Tu Yü defines a. as = d. 'yieldingly gently', but for *ch u a n* alone this is quite unconvincing. Probably c. simply means: "He (turned round =) postured and sang".

208. *ch' u a n* (*î'îwan* a) 'river' Kt for *k' u n* (*k'wan* b) 'Earth' says Wang Yin-chī (Shu wen). — Reject. The ancient tradition that the form c. is the original graph for b. and therefore should be read *k'wan* is well founded. c. is therefore properly well distinguished from a. in spite of the fact that it is frequently confused with a. in the writing. This follows clearly from the two phonetic series which should be well distinguished: *k'wan*: *kiwan*, *xiwan* — di; *t'îwan*: *î'îwan*, *dîwan*, *dziwan*, *dziwan* — e.

209. *ch u a n g* (*dž'iang* a) 'form, appearance, aspect' Kt for *f a n g* (*b'iwang* b) 'house, room' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: T'ien ti phr. c.: "The myriad things have the same storehouse, death and life have the same room". — Reject. c. = "The myriad things have a storehouse common to them all, death and life have an aspect common to them both" (sc. they are all fundamentally one).

210. *ch u e i* (*tîwər* a) 'to pursue' Kt for *t u n* (*twən* b) 'a painted bow' (Shuowen) says Tuan Yü-ts'ai; but this char. b. is known from no text. — *tîwər* a. is in fact Kt for a word *t u e i* (*twər*) 'to carve, engrave' e.g. in Ode 238 phr. c. This word *twər* is also written by another Kt. d. (*twən* for *twər*), as in Ode 284 phr. e. But when Lu Tê-ming (foll. by Chu Tsün-sheng and others) asserts that this d. should be read *t i a o* (*tiōg*) in Ode 246 phr. f. (this because the Lu school reading here was g) he is of course wide of the mark. *t i a o* (*tiōg* h) 'to carve, engrave' was synonymous with our *twər*, and hence the Lu school again in Ode 238 read *t i a o - c h o i*. corresp. to the *t u e i - c h o* c. of the Mao school, but they were obviously different though synonymous words. The wide-spread idea that in phrs. f. and g. *twər* and *tiōg* should mean 'painted' inst. of 'carved' should be declined, see Glosses 807 and 882.

211. *ch u e i* (*tîwər* a) 'to pursue' Kt for *t u e i* (*twər* b) 'mound' says Lu Tê-ming on Li: Kiao t'ê sheng: phr. c.: "a cap piled up high (as a "mound")". (A form d. is only known from Han time). — If Hū Shen is right that e. is a primary form of b., this Kt would keep within the Hs series.

212. *ch u e i* (*îiwad* a) 'to pawn' (Shuowen) Kt for *ch u e i* (*tîwad* b) 'to attach, append, connect' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Ode 257 phr. c.: "All things (connected =)

together are utterly (waste:) ruined”, and several other texts. — The earliest text ex. of *a.* in the sense of ‘to pawn’ (from Han time) is in the phr. *d.* “a son pawned out to another family”. But etymologically this *îiwad a.* may have the same fundamental meaning of ‘to fix on, attach, append’ (‘a son fixed on’), and *îiwad a.* and *îiwad b.* may be two aspects of the same word-stem, cf. Gloss 976.

213. *ch’uei* (*îwia a.*) ‘to hang down’ Kt for *chê* (*îiäg b.*) ‘to intercept’, also, in later times, ‘to cover’ says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Siao yao yu phr. *c.*: “His wings were like clouds covering the heaven”. — Reject *c.* = “His wings were like clouds hanging down from heaven”.

214. *chuei* (*îwia a.*) ‘to beat’ Kt for *suei* (*dziwad b.*) ‘underground path (sc. to tomb), tunnel’ says Yü Sing-wu on Mo: Tsie tsang phr. *c.*: “The tunnel roads run intersectingly” (*d.* = *e.* ‘road’). — Reject. Sun Yi-jiang had cleverly seen that *ch’ a t’ung f.* was a scribe’s error for *sien ta o g.* ‘tunnel path (to tomb)’, and he takes *t’u d.* to stand for *h.*: “One (beats) stamps and clears tunnel paths”. The latter is unnecessary. If, with Yü Sing-wu, we take *i.* to stand for *j.*, *c.* will mean: “(Beaten:) stamped paths are tomb tunnels, the grave mounds are regular mountains and ridges” (sc. everything is so exaggerated and imposing).

215. *chuei* (*îwia a.*) ‘to beat’ Kt for *tuan* (*tuân b.*), but not with its ordinary meaning ‘to hammer’ but = ‘to melt’ says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Ta tsung shī phr. *c.*: (When Huang-ti lost his wisdom) “it was [by being] in the crucible”. In this he follows Chang Ping-lin who adduces Lu Tê-ming (on Chuang: Chī pei yu) to the effect that *a.* dialectally means the same as *b.*, and Shuowen says that *b.* means *d.* ‘small melting’: *lu - chuei*, equal to *lu - tuan*, would then be a binome ‘furnace- melting-place’ = ‘crucible’. — Reject. Shuowen’s *siao ye d.* ‘small melting’ means ‘red-heating for hammering’, *tuan* regularly having this meaning of ‘to forge, to hammer’. Thus *c.* = (That Huang-ti lost his wisdom) “was by being in the furnace and the hammering”.

Again, on Chuang: Chī pei yu phr. *e.* Kuo Siang says *a.* = ‘to estimate’: *e.* = “One who (estimated =) controlled [the weight of] hooks”, and Lu Tê-ming accordingly read the word *to* (Anc. *tuá*), which shows that Kuo took *a.* to be Kt for *ch’uei* (Arch. *tš’iwär*, *tuár f.*) ‘to estimate’. — Reject. All other early comm. took *a.* in its ordinary sense: *c.* = “One who (hammered:) forged hooks” (it is a moot point what kind of hooks).

脬e脬 207a 轉b 環c 轉以歌d 宛轉 208a 川b 坤c 𡿨d 𡿨𡿨𡿨  
(訓)訓e 川: 剗 順巡 兩 209a 狀b 房c 萬物同府死生同狀 210a  
追b 孳c 追琢d 敦e 敦琢f 敦弓g 彫弓h 彫i 彫琢 211a 追b  
堆c 毋追d 牟追e 呂 212a 贅b 綴c 具贅卒荒 d 贅子 213a  
垂b 遮c 其翼若垂天之雲 214a 樨b 隧c 樨埵差通壘雖凡山崩  
d 埵e 涂f 差通g 羨道h 除i 雖j 唯 215a 樨b 鉞c 在鑪樨之

*Vice versa*, *ch'uei* (*tɕ'iwär, twär f*) 'to estimate' is Kt for *chuei* (*iwia a*) 'to beat' says Sun Yi-jang (Cha yi 4:15) on Lao 9 phr. g.: "Even if you hammer and sharpen it, it cannot forever be preserved [sharp]". (Here again Ma Sü-lun says that *f.* is Kt for *twän b*) — Reject. g. = "Even if you test and sharpen it", *f.* having its normal meaning: 'to estimate, control, test'. Even more unacceptable is Chu Tsün-sheng's idea that *f.* is Kt for *ts'uei* (*dz'wər h*) 'to break'.

216. *ch'uei* (*d'iwər a*) 'protruding forehead' Kt for *t'o* (*t'd b*) says Wang Kuo-wei on the Mao Kung Ting inscr. phr. c. — This makes no sense and is phonetically impossible. Kuo Mo-jo says *a.* is Kt for *t'uei* (*t'wər d*) 'to push', which likewise makes no sense. Yü Sing-wu quotes Wu Pei-kiang to the effect that *a.* is Kt for *ts'uei* (*ts'iwər e*) 'to run about' in the sense of *f.* 'to run about wildly' (ex. in a poem by Si-ma Siang-ju): c. = "Do not run wild in the government". — Perhaps *a.* is Kt for *chuei* (*d'iwəd g*) 'to fall down, collapse': c. = "Do not fail in the government".

217. *chun* (*iñwän a*) 'water-level' (the instrument) Kt for *shuei* (*ɕiwər b*) 'water' says Cheng Chung on Chouli: Chou jen phr. c., because "an old version" had *b.* inst. of *a.* He interprets: "If the carriage-pole has a gutter, it is convenient for the water (sc. rain to flow off); if it is convenient for the water, (the pole) will last long". Similarly, on Chouli: Li shī phr. d. Tu Tsī-ch'un says that "an old version" read *b.* inst. of *a.*, and Sun Yi-jang asserts that *a.* and *b.* "had the same sound" and were interchangeable. — Reject. *a.* and *b.* are possibly cognate words(?) but they were certainly not homophonous. Nor is the Kt plausible. On phr. c. there has been much speculation. Cheng Hüan, suppressing the second *li chun*, reads: *chou chu tsê li, chun tsê ki u*, taking *chu* as the name of a constellation: "If the carriage pole [is like] the Chu constellation, it is favourable; if [the lower part, under the car] is *chun* horizontal, it will last long".(!) Kiang Yung: "If the (curvature of the) carriage pole is (smooth like) poured water it is favourable and *chun* regular"; etc. The text is probably corrupted, making no sense with either *a.* or *b.* — The phr. d. means, in the orthodox version: "They weigh them and make them conform to the standard"; in the *ku shu* version: "They weigh them and soak them". Uncertain which version best represents the original text.

218. *ch'un* (*t'iwän a*) 'funeral car' Kt for *ch'uan* (*d'iwän b*) '(funeral) car with solid wheels (no spokes)' says Cheng Hüan on Li: Sang ta ki phr. c.: "When a dignitary was buried one used the car with solid wheels". Cheng argues that the *ch'un* *a.* was not used for *ta-fu* but only for still higher men, and therefore *a.* would be Kt for *b.* in this Li passage. The char. *b.* is not known in pre-Han texts, but it is id. w. *ch'uan* (*d'iwän d*) in Li: Tsa ki. Similarly, Sun Yi-jang on Lü: Tsie tsang phr. e.: (In the burials now current) "one loads it on a great *ch'un*" says that this *ch'un* *a.* must be different from that used for kings and princes. — The argument is weak. The texts only show that ceremonial objects originally reserved for the highest ranks were gradually vulgarized and used for lower-grade people. No conclusive reason for taking *a.* as Kt for *b.*

219. *ch'un* (*d'iwän a*) 'pure, unmixed, entire' etc. Kt for *t'un* (*t'wän b*) 'bright' says Ma Juei-ch'en on Ode 267 phr. c. — Unnecessary, see Gloss 1071. *ch'un*

means here 'entire, complete' = 'great', with Mao Heng and Erya. c. = "Oh, the greatness of Wen Wang's virtue".

220. c h' u n (*dīwān* a) 'pure, unmixed, entire' etc. Kt for s h a n (*dīan* b) 'good' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: Kiao t'ê sheng phr. c.. — Reject. a. has its ordinary meaning: c. = "That is the principle of esteeming high its (sc. the sacrifice's) being (pure:) faultless".

221. c h' u n (*dīwān* a) 'pure, unmixed, entire' etc. Kt for k ü n (*kīwēn* b) 'even, uniform' says Cheng Chung on Chouli: Sī ki yen phr. c., and he says this *kīwēn* 'even' means d. 'hem, border'; and so it is likewise expl. by Cheng Hūan on Li: K'ü li phr. e.: "border of dress that is plain" and other texts. Since this y ü a n (*dīwān* d) is phonetically similar to *dīwān* a., Tuan Yü-ts'ai proposes that a. is Kt not for b. but for d. — Reject. Lu Tê-ming everywhere has for a. in the sense of 'hem, border' the reading c h u n (*īiwān*), evidently considering it as a variation of the *dīwān* stem: garment (or mat) being 'entire, whole' at the border, in contrast to the unhemmed, frayed one. Cf. the terms t s ī t s' u e i f. 'mourning dress with hemmed lower border' (t s ī = t s' i = 'even') as opposed to c h a n t s' u e i g. 'cut-off mourning dress', i.e. the lower border unhemmed and hence frayed. Both Kt speculations (Cheng's a. for b., Tuan's a. for d.) are unnecessary. c. = "He lays out juncus mats with a mixed *īiwān* hem".

Again, a. Kt for b. says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Ts'i wu lun phr. h. How Ma really understands the line is obscure. — Unnecessary: h. = "He (the sage) comprises the millennia (into a whole) and the unity achieves his purity".

Again, a. Kt for b. says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: T'ien hia phr. i.: "They did not see (realize) the equality of Heaven and Earth". — Reject. i. = "They did not realize the (purity, faultlessness:) perfection of Heaven and Earth".

222. c h' u n (*dīwān* a) "pure, unmixed, entire" etc. Kt for t s' ü a n (*dz'īwān* b) 'complete' says Lu Tê-ming on Yili: Hiang shê li phr. c.: "Two tallies are a complete (set)", because Cheng Hūan said d.: "c h' u n is equal to t s' ü a n". (Lu gives the same reading in Li: T'ou hu). — Reject. Cheng's gloss is merely a s h e n g h ü n expl. from sound similarity, not a Kt. C h' u n a. should have its regular reading, with an extension of meaning: 'entire, complete'.

223. c h' u n (*dīwān* a) 'to flow' etc. Kt for c h u n (*īiwān* b) 'a water-level, a rule, standard' says Lu Tê-ming (as shown by his fan-ts'ie c) on Chouli: Nei tsai

閒 d. 小治 e 捶鉤若 f 揣 g 揣而稅(銳)之不可長保 h 權 216 a 傾 b  
他 c 毋傾于政 d 推 e 趙 f 狂趙 g 墜 217 a 準 b 水 c 辨注則利  
準。利準則久 d 權之然後準之 e 注 218 a 輶 b 輶 c 大夫葬用輶  
d 輶 e 載之以大輶 219 a 純 b 煇 c 文王之德之純 220 a 純 b 善  
c 貴純之道也 221 a 純 b 均 c 設莞筵紛純 d 緣 e 純素 f 齊衰 g  
斬衰 h 參萬歲而一成純 i 不見天地之純 222 a 純 b 全 c 二算為

phr. d. "standard measure of breadth". On Kuan: Kün ch'en phr. e. Yin Chī-chang likewise says f. is Kt for b. — Plausible. Cheng Hūan on d. says "an old version" read g., which is evidently but another Kt variant for b. When Tu Tsi-ch'un says this g. stands for c h' u n (*ḍiwen* h) 'pure, entire' the (faultless:) perfect rule', this is more far-fetched.

224. c h' u n (*ḍiwen* a) 'to flow' etc. Kt for t u e i (*twəd* b) 'counterpart' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Tso: Siang 11 phr. c.: "chariots forming pairs (with the war chariots), fifteen piece". — Reject. a. here is probably Kt for c h u n (*i̇wen* d) 'to repeat' (ex. in Ode 256 and Tso: Siang 31), hence also 'to double, to second, to assist', e.g. Kyü: Tsin yü 9 phr. e: "in order to (second:) assist Chao Yang (Wei Chao: d. = f. 'to assist'). Thus c. = "(doubling, seconding, matching:) assistant chariots".

225. c h' u n (*ḍiwen* a) 'pure, clear' (etym. same w. as b.) Kt for c h u n (*i̇wen* c) 'a water-level, rule, standard' says Chang Ping-lin on Chuang: T'ien hia phr. e.: "They (the ancient sages) were counterparts to the Spirits, and (standardized after:) conforming to Heaven and Earth". — Chang can adduce a suggestive parallel: Yi Hi ts'ī, shang phr. f.: "The Yi-king is (standardized after:) conforming to Heaven and Earth". This is tempting, but it is better to take a. as Kt for c h u n (*i̇wen* g) meaning 'to second, to form a pair with, to match' (within the same Hs series). This is preferable since it balances the p' e i precisely: e. = "They were counterparts to the Spirits and matched Heaven and Earth".

226. c h' u n (*ḍiwen* a) 'quail' Kt for t i a o (*tiög* b) 'eagle' says Yü Sing-wu on Ode 112 phr. c. — Reject. We have seen under a paragr. on d. (210 above) that t u e i (*twər* e) 'to carve, engrave' was simply synonymous with t i a o (*tiög* f) 'to carve, engrave' but that never the one was Kt through sound similarity for the other, as has often been suggested. Yü's idea about a. Kt for b. fails in the same way.

227. c h' u n (*ḍiwen* a) 'pure, unmixed, entire' etc. Kt for c h u n (*i̇wen* b) 'a water-level, rule, standard' says Chang Ping-lin on Kuan: K'ing chung 4 phr. c. (speaking of poles and rods for suspending musical instruments): "Their price attains to ten thousand standard coins". — Unnecessary. c. = "Their price attains to ten thousand coins c h' u n for a complete set".

228. c h u n g (*tiöng* a) 'middle' Kt for c h u n g (*i̇iöng* b) 'end', the latter in the sense of a particle (as in many Ode phrases, e.g. c., its value similar to that of k i d., acc. to Wang Nien-sun, see Gloss 79) says Sū Chung-shu ap. Kuo Mo-jo on the Wang-sun K'ien-chê Chung inscr. phr. e. and some similar inscriptions. — Whatever these phrases mean (they are very problematic), it is clear, with Sū, that the words f. are the same as the g. of the Odes. Kuo Mo-jo had earlier (Kin wen ts'ung k'ao) taken a. to be Kt for t s u n g (*tsiung* h) 'dentated ornament on bell stand', but has given it up and follows Sū.

229. c h u n g (*i̇iung* a) 'a kind of vessel' Kt for t s' u n g (*dz'ung* b) 'to collect' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Tso: Chao 28 phr. c.: "Heaven has accumulated beauty on her". Chang Ping-lin (Wen shī) thinks a. is Kt for t s ü (*dz'iu* d) 'to accumulate'. — Reject. a. is Kt for a homophonous c h u n g (*i̇iung*) 'to accumulate', which is closely cognate to c h u n g (*d'jung*, rising tone) 'heavy, to increase' and c h' u n g (*d'jung* even tone) 'double, to repeat, accumulate'.

230. *ch'ung* (*i'ung* a) 'swollen' (variant: Rad. 157) Kt for *ch'ung* (*i'ung* b) 'stupid' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Chuang: Keng Sang Ch'u phr. c.: "He lived (only) with the ignorant and stupid". — Plausible. *yung* d. occurs in Li: Nei tsê in the sense of 'to cover' (phr. e.: "she veils her face"); 'covered > darkened > ignorant' is a common metaphor (f). *yung - ch'ung* is then a natural binome.

231. *ch'ung* (*i'ung* a) 'end' Kt for *ch'ung* (*dz'ung* b) 'high, to exalt' says Yü Yüe on Shu: Lo kao phr. c. — Unnecessary, see Gloss 1763. c. = "You, young man, may you (bring to an end =) achieve the work".

Again, a. Kt for b. says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: T'ien tao phr. d.: "The way, even in what is greatest, does not exalt itself". — Arbitrary and not in accord with the sense of the passage. With Ch'eng Hün-ying, d. = "The Way does not exhaust itself in what is greatest", (nor does it leave what is least).

232. *ch'ung* (*dz'ung* a) 'high, to exalt' Kt for *ch'ung* (*i'ung* b) 'end' in Shu: Kün Shī phr. c.: "It will finally land in misfortune" (this is Ma Jung's version, the orthodox version reads d).

Again, a. Kt for *ch'ung* (*i'ung* e) 'full, to fill' in Yili: Hiang yin tsü li phr. f.: "I am full of wine" (have had enough).

In the phr. *ch'ung chao* g., frequently occurring alternately with *ch'ung chao* h., it has been discussed whether a. is Kt for b. or for e., see Gloss 140; yet a. = b. is the most likely.

Again, on Li: Yüe ki phr. i, Wang Su, in order to make sense of *ch'ung*, carries t'ien tsü from the following phrase here: *yi ch'ung t'ien tsü* "in order to exalt the Son of Heaven"; this was accepted by Ch'en Hao, Wang Fu-chi and Sun Hi-tan. Yet the earliest version ended by *ch'ung*, and Cheng Hün took this to be Kt for e. 'full': i: "The sixth movement (of the music) again united the whole and (filled:) completed (the pantomime)". Yü Yüe says a. is Kt for b., as above: "The sixth movement . . . and finished (the pantomime)". This last is evidently right.

Again, on Shu: Tsiu kao phr. j. Chu Tsün-sheng says a. is Kt for *ts'ung* (*dz'ung* k) 'to collect, bring together', but Kiang Sheng better: a. Kt for e.: "How would they dare to drink (fully:) heavily" (see Gloss 1679), which is confirmed by phr. f. above.

純 d 純猶全 223 a 淳 b 準 c 諸允反 d 淳制 e 綽制 f 醇 g 敦 h 純  
 224 a 淳 b 對 c 淳十五乘 d 諄 e 以諄趙鞅之故 f 佐 225 a 醇 b 純  
 c 準 d 淳 e 配神明醇天地 f 易與天地準 g 諄 226 a 鷄 b 鵬 c 有  
 縣鷄兮 d 追 e 敦 f 彫 227 a 純 b 準 c 其實中純萬衆 228 a 中 b  
 終 c 終風且暴 d 既 e 中輪戲揚 f 中 --- 戲 g 中 --- 且 h 樅  
 229 a 鍾 b 叢 c 天鍾美於是 d 聚 e 重 230 a 腫 (鍾) b 蠢 c 擁腫  
 之與居 d 擁 e 擁蔽其面 f 蒙昧蔽昧冒 231 a 終 b 崇 c 沖子維終



233. *ch'ung* (*t'iong* a) 'full, to fill' Kt for *kung* (*kiung* b) 'to furnish' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Chouli: Yü shī phr. c. "In the archery he furnishes the target-block". Chu's reason is a parallel in Chouli: Sī kung shī phr. d.: "In the archery by the pool he furnishes the bows and arrows for shooting at the target-block". — Reject. The parallel of course proves nothing. a. has its fundamental meaning of 'to fill': d. = "In the archery he (fills in =) puts at its proper place the target-block".

234. *ch'ung* (*t'iong* a) 'full, to fill' Kt for *ch'ung* (*t'iong* b) 'grieved' in Li: T'an Kung phr. c.: "When (the father) has just died, he (the son) is grieved as if he were at his wit's end". See Gloss 40.

235. *ch'ung* (*d'iong* a) 'to surge' etc. Kt for *t'ung* (*d'ung* b) 'young person' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Shu: P'an Keng phr. c.: "I, young man". — Possible but not very convincing. a. alternating with the form d. 'empty' is well attested in Lao-tsi, and our c. may be a self-deprecating expression: "the (empty, feeble:) juvenile man". Cf. the modern Mand. expr. e.

236. *ch'ung* (*d'iong* a) 'to surge' etc. Kt for *ts'iang* (*ts'iang* b) 'metal-adorned' says Ch'en Huan on Ode 173 phr. c. — Reject, see Gloss 450. c. = "the ornaments tinkle".

237. *er* (*niag* a) 'a particle' Kt for *nen* (*nang* b) 'can, to be able' says Cheng Hsüan on Yi: Kua 3 phr. c.: "One should establish rulers; can it then be unruly?" — Lu Tê-ming mentions this Cheng Hsüan interpr., but himself keeps the regular meaning of *er*: "One should establish rulers; but one should not be (too) tranquil". Cheng is certainly preferable, and a. Kt for b. is common, e.g. Ode 253 (and Shu: Yao tien) phr. d.: "Be gentle with the distant ones, and treat well the near ones (see Gloss 917) is quoted e. on a Han-time stele (Tu Yu-pan pei), and various examples in other texts, e.g. Mo: Shang t'ung, chung phr. f.: "The sage kings were able to discern".

238. *er* (*niag* a) 'a particle' Kt for *jo* (*niak* b) 'to accord with, like, as, if' etc. says Cheng Hsüan on Chouli: Lü shī phr. c. "Accordingly, he distribute his orders". — As Kiang Yung points out, this is unnecessary, since *er* a. here can very well have its ordinary meaning: "and he distributes . . .". But a. Kt for b. has been proposed in various other passages. Sun Yi-jiang adduces that Shu: K'ang kao phr. d. "as if there was a sickness" is quoted e. in Sün: Fu kuo; Tso: Siang 30 phr. f. "if Tsī-ch'an dies" runs g. in Lü: Lo ch'eng; etc. On the other hand, it has often been said that *er* (*niag* a) is Kt for *ju* (*niō* h) 'to accord with, like, as, if' (a synonym of b.): a. Kt for h. says Chu Hi on Meng: Li Lou, hia phr. i: "He looked toward the (right) Way, as if he had never seen it". The Ts'ing scholars (Wang Yin-chi and others) assert that "anciently *jo* (*niak* b) and *ju* (*niō* h) "had the same sound" and were used interchangeably; and *er* (*niag* a) had only *yi sheng ch'ichuan* "the change of one sound" (from the former) and could be used (Kt) for any of them. This is all entirely excluded. *er* (*niag* a) in these cases could possibly be Kt for *jo* (*niak* b) — though even this is phonetically unconvincing — but it could certainly not be Kt for a *ju* (*niō* h). *er* a., when meaning 'like, as, if' (in the instances above and many more) is semantically akin to *jo* (*niak*) (and

its synonym *n̄io*) but should certainly still be read *n̄iag*. — It is, however, easy to see how the Ts'ing scholars have come to advance this phonetically unacceptable theory. The char. b., still read j o (*n̄iak*) sometimes occurs as Kt for a homophonous (*n̄iak*) word meaning 'you' (examples in Chuang), and there is another common word j u (*n̄io* j) 'you' (rising tone, whereas h. had even tone). When, now, our e r (*n̄iag* a) crops up meaning 'you' (Ode 255, Tso *passim*), it must have been tempting to say, here again, that j o (*n̄iak* b) 'you' and j u (*n̄io* j) 'you' "anciently had the same sound", and that e r (*n̄iag* a) 'you' was Kt for that "same sound". But the explanation is quite different. We have yet a fourth word meaning 'you': e r (*n̄ia* k) (common), and when e r a. has the meaning 'you', it stands for k., not as a Kt (*n̄iag* and *n̄ia* being too different) but as a graphic short-form. For k. we know a pre-Han bronze inscr. form l., for a. a form m.; the latter could then easily be used as simplified variant of the former graph.

239. e r (*n̄iär* a) 'near' Kt for y i (*ngiad* b) 'accomplished' says Yü Sing-wu on Kuan: Ta K'uang phr. c.: "The (teachings:) rules of the (city:) state of Lu are to love accomplishments and to follow the rites". — Reject. Yü adduces as proof the Ta K'o Ting inscr. and the Fan Sheng Kuei inscr. phr. d., in which e. (acc. to Wang Kuo-wei) would be equal to b., thus b. serving as Kt for a. It is true that phr. d. undoubtedly corresponds to the phr. f. of the Odes and the Shu: "Be gentle with distant ones and treat well the near ones". But that e. is id. with b. is an arbitrary guess — we know nothing about how e. was read, only that it must have meant 'near'. Yü finds a corroboration in the fact that Shu: Yao tien (Shun tien) phr. g. "(temple of) the dead father and grandfather" in the Kin-wen version runs h. in the Ku-wen version. But, as shown by Yü Yüe, the original b. here is probably a short-form for sie (*s̄iat* i) 'familiar, near-standing', being thus synonymous with (but not read as) n i (*n̄iär* j) (see Gloss 265). Even if Yü Yüe should be wrong, there can be no possibility of a *ngiad* being Kt for a *n̄iär* or *vice versa*; in such a case g. and h. simply represent different text traditions (h. then meaning "the accomplished ancestors"). — As to our phr. c. in Kuan, Tai Wang considers a. as a scribe's error for k., which is little convincing. Probably a. had its ordinary meaning: "The rules of the state of Lu is to be fond of (what is near:) the immediate future (not caring what happens later) and to be well versed in the courtesies".

夫道於大不終 232 a 崇 b 終 c 其崇出于不祥 d 其終 e 充 f 崇  
酒 g 崇朝 h 終朝 i 六成復綴以崇 j 其敢崇飲 k 叢 233 a 充 b 供  
c 射則充堪質 d 澤共射堪質之弓矢 234 a 充 b 忡 c 始死充充如

有窮 235 a 沖 b 僮 c 予沖人 d 忡 e 謙沖 236 a 沖 b 鷗 c 肇革沖  
沖 237 a 而 b 能 c 宜建侯而不寧 d 柔遠能通 e 柔遠而通 f 聖王  
唯而審 238 a 而 b 若 c 而均其政令 d 若有疾 e 而有疾 f 子產而  
死 g 子產若死 h 如 i 望道而末之見 j 汝 k 爾 l 禽 m 鳳 239 a 通

240. f a (*p'iwāt* a) 'to throw out, send forth, to issue' etc. Kt for f a (*b'iwāt* b) 'to strike, to attack' etc. says Cheng Hūan on Ode 277 phr. c.: "Quickly (attack): go to work on your private fields". Ma Juei-ch'en, however, believes that Cheng meant *b'iwāt* b. in the technical sense it has as Kt for a homophonous f a (*b'iwāt*) 'earth thrown up in ploughing, a furrow' in Chouli: Tsiang shī phr. d.: "the furrow made by a pair of ploughs"; this word is properly wr. e. or f., read both f a (*b'iwāt*) and p o (*b'wāt*), as in Kyū: Chou yū, shang phr. g.: "The king ploughs one furrow". — Cheng's Kt is unnecessary; see in detail Gloss 1069. f a a. often means 'to open up', thus c.: "Quickly (open us:) break the soil in your private fields".

Again, a. Kt for b. in the sense of 'to boast' (common: *b'iwāt* 'to attack' Kt for a *b'iwāt* 'merit, to boast') says Chu Yu-tseng on Yi Chou shu: Kuan jen phr. h.: "boasting of what they can do". — Plausible, confirmed by the context. (Similarly Wang Nien-sun, Tsa chi 3, on an analogous Yi Chou shu text).

241. f a (*p'iwāt* a) 'to throw out, send forth, to issue' etc. Kt for f a, f u (*p'iwāt*, *p'iwāt* b) 'cold' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Ode 154 phr. c. — Refuted in Gloss 366. b. is Shuowen's text version of the Ode, but this word occurs in no other pre-Han text. a. makes good sense: "In the days of the first month there is a rushing wind".

242. f a (*p'iwāt* a) 'to throw out, send forth, issue' etc. Kt for f u, f e i (*p'iwāt*, *p'iwāt* b) 'to expel noxious influences, to purify' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: T'an Kung phr. c.: (The prince had built a palace) "the dignitaries purified it". — Unnecessary. f a a. often means 'to open up, to start'. K'ung Ying-ta and Ch'en Hao both take a. in the sense of d.: "the dignitaries started (the ceremonies for inauguration)", which leaves too much to be supplied. Wang Fu-chi better: "the dignitaries opened it up" (for use, when it was achieved).

243. f a (*p'iwāt* a) 'to throw out, send forth, to issue' etc. Kt for p e i (*b'wāt* b) 'streamer, banner' says Yang Liang on Sün: Yi ping (in quotation from Ode 304), phr. c. — The Mao version had d.: "The Martial King set up his banner". But Sün's text version (Lu and Han schools) is preferable, see Gloss 1198. c. = "The Martial King then set out". Shuowen has yet another text version e., where fa (*b'iwāt* a) 'furrow' is evidently a Kt. Again, Sū k'ie in his Hi chuan to Shuowen records a text version g.: f a (*b'iwāt*) 'to attack', and Yü Yüe believes this is best: "The Martial King then went to attack", cf. Meng: T'eng Wen kung hia phr. h. But the testimony of both the ancient Lu and Han schools seems decisive.

244. f a (*b'iwāt* a) 'to strike, to attack' etc. Kt for p a i (*b'wāt*, *pwāt* b) 'to ruin, to be defeated' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Sü Wu Kuei phr. c.: "After per-

b 執(藝) c 魯邑之教好通而訓於禮 d 授遠能猷 e 猷 f 柔遠能通 g  
禰祖 h 藝祖 i 誓 j 禰 k 遜 240 a 發 b 伐 c 駿發爾私 d 一耦之伐  
e 城 f 墉 g 王耕一墉(城) 發其所能 241 a 發 b 滅 c 一之日 發  
242 a 發 b 祓 c 晉大夫發焉 d 發禮 243 a 發 b 旆 c 武王載發 d 武  
王載旆 e 武王載城 f 城 g 武王載伐 h 湯始征 244 a 伐 b 敗 c 戊  
固有伐 d 其成也毀也 e 斬樹木壞宮室曰伐 245 a 伐 b 發 c 是謂

fection there will inevitably be ruin". He adduces as parallel Chuang: Ts'i wu lun phr. d.: "their perfection is (entails) destruction (ruin)". — Ma is certainly right about the idea expressed (as against other interpreters: "After perfection there will be [attack:] contention"; or: "After perfection there will be boasting", etc.), as confirmed by the parallel. But it is not necessary to assume a Kt. f a a. can have this same meaning of 'to destroy, destruction, ruin', cf. Ku-liang: Yin 5 phr. e.: "To cut down trees and destroy palaces is called f a a."

245. f a (*b'iwāt* a) 'to strike, to attack' etc. Kt for f a (*pīwāt* b) 'to throw out, send forth, issue, open up' says Yü Yüe on Ode 220 phr. c., and this f a b. would have the same meaning as in Ode 35 phr. d. In the latter, the Han school (ap. Lu Tê-ming) defines f a b. as meaning e. ("do not disturb my fish-trap"), and Yü consequently interprets c. thus: "That is called to disturb the (virtue:) beneficial influence". Chu Tsün-sheng, on the other hand, takes the Han school definition to mean that our f a (*b'iwāt* a) was Kt for p o (*b'wāt* f) 'disordered'. — These Kt speculations are unnecessary. d. = "Do not open my fish-trap"; c. (with Cheng Hün) = "That is called to destroy the (virtue:) beneficial influence".

246. f a (*b'iwāt* a) 'to strike, attack' etc. Kt for p o (*b'wāt* b) 'to rise above' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Tso: Chuang 28 phr. c.: "Moreover it will signalize your lordship's merits" (Tu Yü: a. = d.) — An arbitrary guess, attempting an etymology. a. is simply Kt for a homophonous f a (*b'iwāt*) 'merit, to boast' (common).

247. f a (*b'iwāt* a) 'to punish, to fine' Kt for p o (*b'wāt* b) 'sacrifice to gods of the road' in Chouli: Ta yü phr. c.: "When they traversed the (place for the) sacrifice for the road gods", where an old text version had d. Tu Tsī-ch'un proposes that this f a (*b'iwāt* a) is Kt for p i e (*b'iat* e) 'to separate', an attempt at etymology, the sacrifice being called "the (sacrifice of) separation" (its being made at the start of an expedition). Very arbitrary.

248. f a (*pīwāp* a) 'law, norm, rule, model, method' Kt for f e i (*pīwād* b) 'to cast aside' says Ou-yang Siu (Tsi ku lu) on bronze-inscription phrases like c.: "Do not cast aside my orders". This has been accepted by all later epigraphists (Liu Sin-yüan, Sun Yi-jang, Wang Kuo-wei, Kuo Mo-jo etc.). — Reject: phonetically inadmissible. The theory, however, has entailed curious reasonings. In the Ta Yü Ting inscr., a. occurs twice: first in phr. d., secondly in phr. c. Since it cannot mean 'to cast aside' in d., Wang Kuo-wei points out that in Ode 204 f e i (*pīwād* b) serves as Kt for a homophonous word f e i or f a (*pīwād* or *pīwāt*) 'great' (see Gloss 640), and here then f a a. would serve as Kt for *pīwād* 'great' in phr. d., but for *pīwād* b. 'to cast aside' in phr. c. An amusing trick. Obviously a. has its ordinary reading *pīwāp* (the final -p preserved to our days in Cantonese etc.) in both phrases. d. = "To take as models and be faithful to the ancient kings"; c. = "Do not (make norms for:) censure my orders".

Again, f a (*pīwāp* a) Kt for f e i (*pīwād* b) in the sense 'great' in Sün: K'üan hüe phr. f. says Yü Sing-wu: "The rites and music are great". — Reject. f. = "The rites and music are well regulated".

On the other hand, f e i (*pīwād* b) Kt for f a (*pīwāp* a) says Yü Sing-wu on Kuan: Sheng ma shu phr. g.: (The people, when allotted their pieces of fields, will

not move but stay put:) “as if they f a imitated the squareness of the earth” (which is square, whereas Heaven is round). — Reject. g. = “As if one throws down a cube on the ground” (sc. it will not roll or move away but stays put).

249. f a n (*b'iwǎn* a) ‘fence, hedge’ Kt for p’ a n (*b'wǎng* b) ‘side’ says Yin T’ung-yang (ap. Ma Sū-lun) on Chuang: Tsê yang phr. c.: “In summer he rests on the sides of the mountain”. — Reject. c. = “In summer he rests in the (hedged places:) shady places on the mountain”.

250. f a n (*b'iwǎn* a) ‘fence, hedge’ Kt for p’ a n (*p'wǎn* b) ‘belt, strap’ says Cheng Hūan on Chouli: Kin kǔ phr. c.: “(horse’s) breast strap and tassels” (the same c. in Ta Tai: Ch’ao shī). — We have d. in Tso: Huan 2 phr. e., we have f. in Tso Ch’eng 2 and in Li: Li k’i, but Lu Tê-ming reads p’ a n (*b'wǎn* g) in both these places, thus agreeing with Cheng Hūan that both c. and f. are Kt for d. It is important to observe that the word p’ a n (*b'wǎn* b) ‘belt, sash, strap’ taken alone is well attested (Yi: Sung; Tso: Chuang 21). This would all seem quite conclusive. But Shuowen has an entry f a n (*b'iwǎn* h) (our g. being only an enlarged form of this h.) defined as = ‘ornament on horse’s hair-tufts’, and it quotes, in support of this, Tso: Ai 23 phr. i.: “They (the horses) may be worthy of carrying the plumes and the head-ornaments”. If the preceding Kt are accepted, the h. (g.) in this phr. i. should likewise be Kt for b., and so Lu Tê-ming takes it (*b'wǎn*): “. . . carrying the plumes and breast-straps”. But Sun Yi-jang (under Chouli: Kin kǔ) turns it the other way round and believes (on the authority of Shuowen, a century older than Cheng Hūan) that a. in phr. c. and b. in phr. d. (e.) are both Kt for h. (g.) and that all the phrases c., d. (e.) and f. should be read f a n - y i n g and mean: “the hairtuft-ornaments and (breast) tassels (of horses)”. — The former alternative (Cheng Hūan and followers) is far more natural.

One more point in this connection should, however, be observed. In Li: Ming t’ang wei there is a phr. j. Both K’ung Ying-ta and Lu Tê-ming say that f a n (Lu *b'iwǎn* k) means l. ‘red’: “The men of Chou had yellow horses with red manes”; but this meaning is a mere guess, with no support through parallels. Kuo P’o (comm. on Erya) had the text version m., and it is tempting to revert here to Shuowen’s definition of h. above: “The men of Chou had yellow horses with ornamented manes”. But, as emphasized by Wang Yin-chī (Shu wen) the word should indicate a colour, as shown by the context, and f a n k. (K’ung and Lu) as well as f a n g. (Kuo) are simply Kt for p’ o, p o (*b'wǎr*, *pwǎr* n) ‘white’: “The men of Chou had yellow horses with white manes”. — Plausible.

251. f a n (*b'iwǎn* a) ‘luxuriant, ample, to prosper’ Kt for p i e n (*piǎn* b) ‘to change, transform’ says Ying Shao on Shu: Yao tien phr. c. as it runs in the version of an imperial edict of 23 B.C.; this because the orthodox version runs d. — Reject,

伐德d無發我筭e亂f悖 246a 伐b拔c且旌君伐d功 247a,  
 罰b報c及犯報d及犯罰e別 248a 灋(法)b廢c勿灋朕命d  
 灋保先王e法f禮樂法g如廢方於地 249a 樊b旁c夏則休乎  
 山樊 250a 樊b犖c樊纓d犖纓e犖屬游纓f繫纓g繫h縣

see Gloss 1213. — c. = “The numerous people were amply nourished and prosperous”. On the other hand, the d. of the orthodox version was no Kt for c.; the two versions represent different text traditions.

252. f a n (*p'iwǎn* a) ‘to turn, change, changeable’ Kt for p'ien (*b'ian* b) ‘specious, glib-tongued’ says Ma Juei-ch'en on Ode 200 phr. c.: “nimble-minded and specious”. Ch'en Huan takes a. to be Kt for p'ien (*p'ian* d): “connectedly and leaguely together”. — Reject, see Gloss 619. a. is the proper word, with an extension of meaning. c. = “nimble-minded and (changeable:) versatile”.

253. f a n (*b'iwǎm* a) ‘each, every, common, ordinary’ etc. Kt for p'a n (*b'wǎn* b) ‘to turn round’ says Yü Sing-wu on Mo: Ts'i kuo phr. c.: “That which (turns round:) moves about between Heaven and Earth”; and likewise Mo: Tsie tsang, hia phr. d.: “The grave-mound turns about (?) in the hills”. — Reject. f a n a. has its regular meaning. a. = “In all that moves about between Heaven and Earth”. d. = “The grave-mounds are regular mountains and ridges” (cf. paragr. 214 above).

254. f a n (*b'iwǎm* a) ‘each, every, common, ordinary’ etc. Kt for ch u n g (*t'ông* b) ‘multitude, numerous’ says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Ts'i wu lun phr. c. (Kt “because a. and b. had the same Arch final”). — Reject. c. = “How much the more are the ordinary ones (sc. unable to calculate)”.

255. f a n (*b'iwǎm* a) ‘to oppose, transgress, to encounter’ Kt for f e n g (*b'üung* b) ‘to meet with’ says Chang Ping-lin on Chuang: Ta tsung shī phr. c.: “When once you have (encountered:) obtained the shape of a human being”. (A similar phr. later in the same chapter: d.). — Reject; unnecessary, since f a n a. can be synonymous with f e n g b. in the sense of (to run across:) ‘to encounter’ (e.g. Tso: Siang 28). So the interpr. is correct without any Kt speculation. In Huai: Shu chen hün the phr. c. is rendered e., and this variant with f a n (*b'iwǎm* f) ‘a mould’ has caused Yao Nai to take a. as Kt for f. (so Legge: “When the body of man comes from its special mould”). But Kao Yu had already realized that f. was Kt for a. ‘to encounter’, since he defines it by g.

Again, a. Kt for b. says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Tê ch'ung fu phr. h., and Chuang: Ta sheng phr. i. — Reject, for the same reasons.

256. f a n (*p'iwǎm* a) ‘to overflow’ Kt for p' u (*p'ág* b) ‘vast’ says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: T'ien hia phr. c. — Reject. c. = “If you (overflowingly, extensively:) comprehensively love all things”.

257. f a n (*b'iwǎm* a) ‘name of a plant’ (Shuowen, no text) Kt for f e n g (*p'üung* b) ‘bee’ says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: T'an Kung phr. c.: “As to the bees, they have caps”. — Reject. The ancient tradition, given by Lu Tê-ming (under Li: Nei tsé) was that *b'iwǎm* a. ‘plant name’ was Kt for a homophonous word *b'iwǎm* ‘bee’; no reason to doubt this and read it *p'üung*.

258. f a n g (*piwang* a) ‘square’ etc. Kt for f a (*piwǎp* b) ‘method’ says Chu Tsün-sheng on Lyü: Yung ye phr. c.: “That may be called the method (art) of goodness”,

l 可以稱旌旒 j 周人黃馬蕃鬣 k 蕃 l 赤 m 周人黃馬繁鬣 n 幡  
251 a 蕃 b 變 c 黎民於(於)蕃 d 於變 252 a 幡 b 便 c 捷捷幡幡 d

and many similar phrases in the classics, often with a. explained as meaning b. by the commentators. Ma Sü-lun likewise says a. Kt for b. on various phrases in Chuang. — Reject. a. was frequently Kt for a word ‘method, rule, pattern, norm’ but all ancient tradition has it that *piwang* a. then was Kt for a homophonous *piwang* ‘method’. a. was certainly never pronounced *piwǎp*.

259. f a n g (*piwang* a) ‘square’ etc. Kt for c h u a n g (*dɛ’iang* b) ‘shape, appearance’ says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Ts’i wu lun phr. c.: “I venture to ask about its appearance”. — Reject. a. is Kt for the homophonous *piwang* ‘method, rule, norm, pattern’ (common): c. = “I venture to ask about its (pattern:) configuration”.

260. f a n g (*piwang* a) ‘square’ etc. Kt for t a n g (*tǎng* b) ‘to be on, in, at, on’ says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Yang sheng chu phr. c.: “at the present time”. — Reject. a. is Kt for a homophonous *piwang* ‘just then’ (common in the Odes: *jang kin* = “just now, at present”).

261. f a n g (*piwang* a.) ‘square’ etc. Kt for f u (*piwo* b) ‘to begin’ says Tuan Yü-ts’ai on Ode 12 phr. c., where Mao Heng said f a n g c h ī = f a n g y u c h ī (d), thus: “It is the kiu-bird who first (has it, sc. the nest)”. (Chang Ping-lin has a similar idea: a. Kt for b. in Wen shī 5:87). — Reject. By extension of meaning f a n g a. often means ‘place’, here as a verb: “It is the kiu-bird who has its place in it”.

262. f a n g (*piwang* a) ‘a kind of tree’ Kt for p i n g (*piǎng* b) ‘handle’ says Lu Tê-ming on Yili: P’ing li phr. c.: “He turns forward the handle” (of the spoon). — Plausible.

263. f a n g (*b’i’wang* a) ‘dyke, to protect, to withstand’ Kt for t a n g (*tǎng* b) ‘to have the value of, to be a match for’ says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 131 phr. c., because Cheng Hsüan has explained a. by b.: “He is a match for one hundred men”. — Reject. This meaning of the line is correct, but f a n g a. is used with an extension of meaning: ‘to guard against — to withstand’, see Gloss 322.

264. f a n g (*piwang* a) ‘to loosen, to indulge’ etc. Kt for w a n g (*miwang* b) says Chu Tsün-sheng on Chuang: T’ien yün phr. c.: “You move according to the wind” (sc. as the wind blows). — Sī-ma Piao, followed by Lu Tê-ming, takes *piwang* a, falling tone, to be Kt for *piwang* d., rising tone, ‘to imitate, to conform to’ (common Kt e.g. in Li): c. = “You move imitating the wind”. Kuo K’ing-fan, better, takes a. in its ordinary sense: “You move, indulging the wind” (i.e. letting the wind carry you wherever it wants to).

偏 253a 凡<sub>レ</sub>盤<sub>レ</sub>c 凡<sub>レ</sub>回於天地之間<sub>レ</sub>d 壘雖凡山陵 254a 凡<sub>レ</sub>衆<sub>レ</sub>c 而況其凡乎 255a 犯<sub>レ</sub>逢<sub>レ</sub>c 一犯人之形<sub>レ</sub>d 特犯人之形<sub>レ</sub>e 一範人之形<sub>レ</sub>f 範<sub>レ</sub>g 遇遭<sub>レ</sub>h 犯患<sub>レ</sub>i 犯害 256a 汜<sub>レ</sub>溥<sub>レ</sub>c 汜愛萬物 257a 范<sub>レ</sub>蜂<sub>レ</sub>c 范則冠 258a 方<sub>レ</sub>法<sub>レ</sub>c 可謂仁之方也 259a 方<sub>レ</sub>狀<sub>レ</sub>c 敢問其方 260a 方<sub>レ</sub>當<sub>レ</sub>c 方今之時 261a 方<sub>レ</sub>甫<sub>レ</sub>c 維鵠方之<sub>レ</sub>d 方有之 262a 枋<sub>レ</sub>柄<sub>レ</sub>c 面枋 263a 防<sub>レ</sub>當<sub>レ</sub>c 百夫之防 264a 放<sub>レ</sub>望<sub>レ</sub>c 吾子亦放風而動<sub>レ</sub>d 仿 265a 非<sub>レ</sub>彼<sub>レ</sub>c 無乃非有血氣

265. *fei* (*p̄iwar* a) 'is not' Kt for *pi* (*pia* b) 'that one, those' says Yü Sing-wu on Mo: San pien phr. c.: "Is not that what those (who have vitality:) animate beings cannot attain to?". — Reject. (Cf. our paragraph 269 on d. below). Yü Yüe proposes that *fei* a. is a mistake and should be erased, which is convincing.

266. *fei* (*p̄iwar* a) 'is not' Kt for *wei* (*ḡiwar* b) 'to go against, to go away, to leave' (Shuowen defines a. by b.) says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Ts'i: wu lun phr. c.: "Leaving that (sc. the primordial cause of our mental functions), there would be no I". — Reject. *fei* a. has its ordinary meaning (if it is not = but for): c. = "But for that (sc. the primordial cause) there would be no I".

267. *fei* (*p̄iwar* a) 'is not' Kt for *fan* (*b'iwän* b) 'a kind of gem' says Ch'en Meng-kia (K'ao ku hüe pao 10 p. 92) on the Siao ch'en Chuan Yu inscr. (San tai ki kin wen ts'un 8: 52) phr. c., in which *fei* *yü* (*p̄iwar-d̄io* d) would be Kt for *fan* *yü* (*b'iwän-zio* e.). In Tso: Ting 5 there is mentioned a gem called *yü* - *fan* f. Thus: "Shi T'ien fu (ordered:) conferred on the siao-ch'en Chuan a (*fei* - *yü*): *fan* - *yü* gem". — Reject. The phr. *fei* - *yü* d., which also occurs in a Ting inscr. in Sung chai ki kin t'u lu l:a, is entirely obscure.

268. *fei* (*p̄iwar* a) 'square basket' Kt for *fen* (*p̄iwan* b) 'to divide' says Cheng Hün on Chouli: Lin jen phr. c.: "The (distribution:) allotments of the state". Already before him Cheng Chung had defined a. by b. in Chouli: Ta tsai. — Plausible.

269. *fei* (*p̄iwar* a) 'square basket' Kt for *pi* (*pia* b) 'that one' says Wang Nien-sun (Shu wen) on various phrases e.g. Ode 149 phr. c.: "That wind whirls up". — Reject. Refuted in detail in Gloss 357. In c., as often, a. serves for *fei* (*p̄iwar* k) 'not': "It is not that the wind whirls up". The Kt idea a. for b., however, was quite ancient. It originated in connection with Ode 215 phr. d., which in Tso: Siang 57 is quoted e., on which Tu Yü: a. = b.; Kung-yang also has an entry a. = b. But d. and e. are, in fact, two versions representing different text traditions: d. = "They associate without being haughty"; e. = "They are not rude, not haughty".

Again, Ode 222 phr. f. is in Sün: K'üan hüe quoted g., and Yang Liang says a. is Kt for b.; but Wang Yin-chi, on the contrary (Tsa chi) says that b. is Kt for a. Neither is true, f. and g. were different traditions: f. "They associate without being remiss (impolite)"; g. = "They are not rude, not remiss" (Gloss 357).

Again, on Shu: Tsiu kao phr. h. Yü Sing-wu says *fei* (*p̄iwar* i) 'lath' is Kt for *pi* b., *ts'u* (j) being "a particle": "Those princes of states". — Reject. *fei* (*p̄iwar* i) is Kt for *fei* (*p̄iwar* k) 'not', thus: "The (not gone =) still living princes of states", see Gloss 1674.

270. *fei* (*p̄iwar* a) 'name of a plant' etc. Kt for *pi* (*p'ia* b) 'cape, mantle' says Yü Sing-wu on Sün: Li lun phr. c.: "In order to resemble a mantle or a curtain". — Reject. The word b. is not attested earlier than in Fang-yen. The context shows that *fei* - *wei* is a binome. Yang Liang takes a. as Kt for *fei* (*p̄iwar* d) 'door leaf': c. = "In order to resemble a door curtain". This seems plausible.

271. *fei* (*b'iwär* a) 'calf of leg' Kt for *pi* (*b'iar* b) 'name of a plant', in its turn serving for *pi* (*p̄iar* c) 'to cover, protect' says Cheng Hün on Ode 167 phr. d.:



"They (sc. the horses) are what the common soldiers make a protection". — Reject, see Gloss 432. d. = "They are what the common soldiers are (legging =) following on foot".

272. *fei* (*piwər* a) 'to fly' Kt for *fei* (*p'iwər* b) 'ornate' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Chouli: Tsi jen phr. c.: "Those (animals) with motly colours". c. was the "old version" adduced by Cheng Chung, the orthodox version running d. That both a. and *fei* (*piwər* e) 'not' were Kt for b. was Lu Tê-ming's opinion, since he indicates *p'*-, and probably it was already Cheng Hsüan's, since he defines e. by f. — Plausible.

273. *fei* (*piwäd* a) 'to cast aside' Kt for *fu* (*b'iwät* b) 'great' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Ode 204 phr. c.: "Greatly they destroy and damage (them)". — The meaning 'great' for a. is well attested in several texts (see Gloss 640), but a. need not be Kt for b. and read *b'iwät*. The early tradition was that *piwäd* a. 'to cast aside' was Kt for a word meaning 'great' and read either *fei* (*piwäd*) or *fa* (*piwät*); this is recorded by Lu Tê-ming and is plausible.

274. *fei* (*piwäd* a) 'to cast aside' Kt for *fa* (*piwäp* b) 'law, norm' etc. says Yü Sing-wu on Sün: Yi ping phr. c.: "Not to desire what is *tsi a n g* favourable, and hate the law". — Reject. Yü refers to the proposed cases of b. serving for a., which, however, have been refuted (see our paragr. 248 on b. above). Wang Sien-k'ien convincingly: c. = "If you do not, when desiring (something) grasp it, and, when hating it reject it".

275. *fei* (*piwäd* a) 'to cast aside' Kt for *pa* (*b'wät* b) 'to pull out' says Ma Sün-lun on Chuang: T'ien tao phr. c.; acc. to Ma, the *pu* should be expunged and c. (= *pa k'iu ng min*) would mean: "I rescue the destitute people". — Highly arbitrary. The meaning of c. is clear: "I do not neglect the destitute people".

276. *fei* (*p'iwäd* a) 'to squander' Kt for *po*, *pei* (*b'wät*, *b'wäd* b) 'perverse, silly' says Wang Yin-chi (Shu wen) on Li: Tsi yi phr. c.: "The mouth is perverse and prolix". This is because Cheng Hsüan registers a text version having d., and, on the other hand, Mo: Lu wen has a phr. e.: "Is not that silly?" and later on in the same chapter phr. f. — Plausible. In phr. c. *fei* a. could still have its original meaning: "The mouth is (squandering =) loquacious"; but hardly in phr. f. Wang (followed by Sun Yi-jang) is probably right.

者所不能至邪 d 匪 266 a 非 b 違 c 非彼無我 267 a 非 b 瑞 c 詔  
田父令小臣傳非余 d 非余 e 瑞璵 f 璵璵 268 a 匪 b 分 c 國之匪  
頒 269 a 匪 b 彼 c 匪風發兮 d 彼交匪敖 e 匪交匪敖 f 彼交匪舒  
g 匪交匪舒 h 棗徂邦君 i 棗 j 徂 k 非 270 a 菲 b 帷 c 以象菲帷  
d 扉 271 a 腓 b 沘 c 庇 d 小人所腓 272 a 飛 b 斐 c 其飛色 d 其  
匪色 e 匪 f 采貌 273 a 廢 b 棄佛 c 廢為殘賊 274 a 廢 b 法 c 無  
欲將而惡廢 275 a 廢 b 拔 c 不廢窮民 276 a 費 b 悖 c 口費而煩

277. *f e n* (*b'iwən a*) 'big' Kt for *p a n* (*puan b*) 'to distribute' says Cheng Chung on Chouli: Ta tsai phr. c.: "The norms for distributions". Cheng Hūan says the same on Li: Ming t'ang wei phr. d.: "He distributes the (norms for the) measures". — Plausible.

Again, *a.* is said to be Kt for *b.* by Chao K'i on Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang phr. e.: "Those with *a* (distributed =) partially white hair". But in Li: Tsi yi we find the same phr. written *f.*, this *p a n* (*puan g*) meaning 'variegated, motley', and this is evidently the true form: "Those with motley white (hair)", *a.* in phr. *e.* being Kt for this *g.* (Tuan Yü-ts'ai has the curious idea that *b'iwən a.* is here Kt for *p i* [*pieg h*] 'the hair half white'; this is a Shuowen word unknown from texts).

Again, *f e n* (*b'iwən a*) occurs with its proper meaning 'big' in Ode 221 phr. *i.* "Big are their (sc. the fishes') heads", and the same word occurs written *f e n* (*b'iwən j*) in Ode 242 phr. *k.* "Big drums" and wr. *f e n* (*b'iwən l*) in Ode 233 phr. *m.*: "The ewes have big heads" (*j.* and *l.* being Kt for *a.*). But in two of these cases Yü Sing-wu would take the *b'iwən* to be Kt for *puan g.* "motley": *i.* = "Motley are their (the fishes') heads"; *m.* = "The ewes have motley heads". This is arbitrary and unnecessary. The meaning 'big' is well confirmed. The char. *l.* serves for 'to swell up' in Tso, for 'tumulus' (a "swelling" of the earth) in Li etc.

Again, *f e n* (*b'iwən a.*) is Kt for *f e n* (*piwən n*) 'to overthrow' says Yü Sing-wu on Shu: Lo kao phr. *o.*: "If you, youngster, overthrow (things)". — Refuted in Gloss 1766. Here, as often, *a.* is Kt for *b.* 'to distribute, rank': *o.* = "Now you youngster are (ranked =) put in your proper rank (as king)".

278. *f e n* (*p'iwən a*) 'fragrant' Kt for *f e n* (*b'iwən b*) 'a tumulus, swelling, big' says Yin Chī-chang on Kuan: Ti yüan phr. c.: "Swelling up, if moistened, as if it were heaped-up earth". — Plausible.

279. *f e n* (*p'iwən a*) 'mixed' Kt for *p i n* (*piən b*) (a place name) says Cheng Chung on Chouli: Si ki yen phr. c. — It is quite obscure what he meant by that; The phr. c. recurs in Shu: Ku ming and has been interpr. in various ways, discussed in Gloss 1990. The conclusion there is: *c.* = "ample border (on the mat)".

280. *f e n* (*p'iwən a*) 'mixed, confused' Kt for *h ü n* (*xiwən b*) 'smoke' etc. says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Chī pei yu phr. c.: (In death, when the soul leaves the body) "it is smoke-like". — Reject. The reason for Ma's speculation is amusing. On the phr. c. Kuo Siang comments: *c.* = *d.*, in which *p i e n - h u a* 'changing' refers to *a.* and *y e n y ü n e.* refers to *f.*, *e.* meaning 'smoke', Ma has applied this sense to both *f e n* and *y ü a n* in *c.* It is, however, doubtful whether Kuo Siang ever took *f.* (Lu Tê-ming: *xiwən*) to be Kt for *xiwən* 'smoke', since certain early versions (ap. Lu) render Kuo's comm. as *g.* inst. of *e.* It is thus safest to take *c.* to mean: "It is mixed up, it is confused".

281. *f e n* (*p'iwən a*) 'anger, angry' Kt for *p e n* (*puən b*) 'to rush' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Ta sheng phr. c.: "When the rushing (breath:) outburst is (scattered:) exhausted". — Unnecessary. That *f e n a.* has its ordinary meaning here is proved by the following lines where this 'anger' (here: *d.*) is further described. *c.* = "When the (breath:) outburst of anger and pent-up feelings are (scattered:) exhausted".

282. *f e n* (*b'iwən* a) 'hemp' Kt for *f a n* (*b'iwǎn* b) 'an aquatic grass' says Cheng Hūan on Chouli: Kin kǔ phr. c.: "A cover made of the *f a n* grass". — The word *f a n* b. is not attested in pre-Han texts. Since there is a word *f e n* (*b'iwən* d) 'hemp seed' well-known from the Li, Lu Tê-ming concluded that a. is equal to the homophonous d.; and, curiously, he says that b. should likewise be read like d., which would make Cheng's gloss meaningless. As to a., however, Lu is certainly right. c. = "A cover made of hemp stuff".

283. *f e n* (*b'iwən* a) 'hemp' Kt for *w e n* (*m'iwən* b.) 'to confuse' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Tso: Yin 4 phr. c. "To try to put silk in order but (only) revel it". — Unnecessary. The meaning is the same, but a., which has both readings *b'iwən* and *p'iwən* in the sense of 'to confuse', is id. with *f e n* (*p'iwən* d) 'to mix, confuse' in the latter case, a variant of the same stem in the former. Lu Tê-ming reads it *b'iwən* here in Tso, phr. c., but *p'iwən* in Shu: Lǔ hing phr. e. In Mo: T'ien chī, hia phr. f. "to confuse black and white" Sun Yi-jang rightly says that *f e n* (*b'iwən* i) 'hemp-seed; well-set (fruit)' is Kt for a. 'to confuse'.

284. *f e n* (*b'iwən* a) 'tumulus, to swell up, great' etc. Kt for *w e n* (*m'iwən* b) 'literary document' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Tso: Chao 12 phr. c., which was the name of some ancient and venerable documents. — Unnecessary. The word-stem *b'iwən* 'great', written d., is well attested and c. simply means: "The three great ones".

285. *f e n* (*b'iwən* a) 'to burn' Kt for *f e n* (*p'iwən* b) 'to overthrow' says Fu K'ien on Tso: Siang 24 phr. c.: (The elephant has its teeth and) "thereby (overthrows:) destroys his body". That this was Fu's idea follows from his definition: a. = d. 'to overthrow'. — Plausible.

Again, a. Kt for b. says Wen Yi-to on Yi: Lǔ phr. e.: "The bird (overthrows:) destroys its nest". Convincing, since it is difficult to see how a bird could "burn" its nest. Yet it entails that a phr. a few lines earlier: Yi: Lǔ phr. f, should mean: "The traveller (overthrows:) destroys his lodging-house" inst. of the generally admitted: "The traveller burns his lodging-house" — a less convincing Kt case.

286. *f e n g* (*b'jung* a) 'to meet' Kt for *f e n g* (*p'jong* b) 'abundant, great' says Wang Yin-chī on Shu: Hung fan phr. c.: "Your sons and grandsons will be great". — Refuted in Gloss 1554. The meaning of the phr. is, however, correctly given, a.

*d* 口悖而煩 *e* 豈不悖哉 *f* 豈不費哉 277a 頌 *b* 班 *c* 匪(吩)頌之式  
*d* 頌度量 *e* 頌白者 *f* 班白者 *g* 班 *h* 羣 *i* 有頌其首 *j* 貢 *k* 貢鼓 *l*  
 墳 *m* 牂羊墳首 *n* 債 *o* 乃惟孺子頌 278a 芬 *b* 墳 *c* 芬然若澤若屯  
 土 279a 紛 *b* 醢 *c* 紛純 280a 紛 *b* 熏 *c* 紛乎宛乎 *d* 變化煙煴  
*e* 煙煴 *f* 宛 *g* 網緼 281a 忿 *b* 奔 *c* 夫忿瀉之氣散 *d* 怒 282a 焚  
*b* 蒺 *c* 焚蔽 *d* 菁 283a 焚 *b* 素 *c* 治絲而焚之 *d* 紛 *e* 泯泯焚焚 *f*  
 菁黑白 *g* 菁 284a 墳 *b* 文 *c* 三墳 *d* 頌貢墳 285a 焚 *b* 債 *c* 以焚

being frequently Kt for a word meaning 'great' for documentation see Glosses 1074 and 1554) and it is probably cognate to a word *feng* (*piung*) written (by Kt) d.; but when Wang Yin-chi says that a. and b. anciently "had the same sound", he is mistaken.

Yü Yüe (K'ün king) furthermore proposes that in Li: Nei tsê phr. f. *feng* (*b'jung* e.) 'to sew, a seam' is Kt for *p'iong* b.: "One (makes great:) enlarges the hem so as to (double:) be twice as long as (the line at) the waist". — Reject. f. = "The sewn (i.e. hemmed) lower border is twice the length of (the line at) the waist".

It should be added that when *feng* (*piung* d) 'tumulus' is used as Kt for the word meaning 'great' (as mentioned above, e.g. Ode 305, and Tso: Chao 28) Chu Tsün-sheng again believes that this d. is Kt for and should be read like *p'iong* b. — To be rejected: *piung* d. was employed for a homophonous *piung* 'great', in accordance with the ancient tradition.

287. *feng* (*b'jung* a) 'to meet' Kt for *ping* (*pieng* b) 'to combine two things, likewise' etc. says Yü Yüe on Shu: Kin t'eng, Kin-wen version phr. c.: "They likewise found this auspicious"; this because the Ku-wen version runs d. — Reject, see Gloss 1575. c. = "They greatly found this auspicious". For a. = 'great' see the preceding paragraph.

288. *feng* (*piung* a) 'tumulus' Kt for *pien* (*piam* b) 'to lower (a coffin) into the grave' says Cheng Hsün in Li: T'an Kung phr. c.: "After the lowering (of the coffin) there were the condolences", and consequently Lu Tê-ming reads a. here not *piung* but *piam* (like b). Yü Fan says the same on Yi: Hi ts'i. — All later writers have accepted this Han-time idea, though it is phonetically unconvincing. Now, there exists a word *peng* (*pang* d) 'to lower (a coffin) in the grave' (Tso: Chao 12) and it is obvious that when *piung* a. is used in this sense it is a Kt for this *pang* d. and not for *piam* b. But the Chinese philologists would *à tout prix* identify all these words, and therefore both Lu Fa-yen (Ts'ie-yün) and Lu Tê-ming (Shi-wen) give for *pien* (*piam* b) an alternative reading, Anc. *pang*, id. with that of d. — To sum up: There were two synonymous words meaning 'to lower (the coffin) into the grave'. One was *pien* (*piam* b), which occurs for instance in Chouli: Ta p'u. The other was *peng* (*pang* d), which occurs in Tso: Chao 12. In a great many other texts, particularly in the Li, the *feng* (*piung* a) was used as Kt for this d, and should, in such cases, be read *pang* but certainly not *piam* (my Gram. Serica paragr. 641 and 1197 should be corrected in this sense).

289. *feng* (*p'iong*) 'ample' Kt for *feng* (*p'jung* b) 'point of weapon' says Chang Ping-lin on Kuan: Ts'i ch'en ts'i ch'u phr. c.: "The punishments are made severe and become (piercing:) hurtful". — Unnecessary. c. = "The punishments are made severe and become (too) ample".

290. *fou* (*piüg* a) 'to soar' (Lü), from earliest times used as Kt for *fou* (*piüg*) 'not' (*passim*), for *pi* (*piæg* b) 'bad' (Sün) and for *p'i* (*p'ieg* c) 'great' (Shi) (the same char. subsequently applied to another word *pwat* 'not'), is frequently enlarged into *fou* (*piüg* d), used both for *piüg* a. 'not' (Shi), for *piæg* b. 'bad' (Shi) and for a word *pi* (*b'ieg*) 'to obstruct' (Yi), see Glosses 612, 759, 1021, 1243, 1894, 1896, with full documentation.

f o u (p*ĩ*ũg a) Kt for f u (p*ĩ*u e) 'calyx of a flower' says Cheng Hūan on Ode 163 phr. f.: "The calyces are brilliant", adding that "anciently a. and e. had the same sound". — Refuted in Gloss 410. a. is here, as often, Kt for c.: f. = "(The flowers) in a sudden outburst become ample and brilliant".

Again, f o u (p*ĩ*ũg a) is Kt for p e i (b'*ĩ*ag g) 'to prepare, to guard', and f o u (p*ĩ*ũg d) is Kt for p i (p*ĩ*ag b), 'the border districts' says Yang Shu-ta (Kin wen shuo p. 136) on the Shou kung Tsun inscr. phr. h.: "to guard the frontier". — Ingenious, but bold and uncertain.

Again, f o u (p*ĩ*ũg d) Kt for p e i (pək i) 'to turn the back on' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Tso: Sūan 12 phr. j (quotation from Yi: Kua 7): "If they are contrary to what is good, it is inauspicious". — Reject. Tu Yü, better, takes f o u d. with its common meaning 'not': "If they are not good, it is inauspicious".

291. f o u (b'*ĩ*ōg a) 'to float, fickle, frivolous' etc. Kt for f u (b'*ĩ*uāt b) 'to resist, oppose' says Yü Yüe on Shu: P'an Keng phr. c.: "They did not act contrary to the times of Heaven". — Reject, refuted in Gloss 1447. c. = "They were not frivolous in regard to the times of Heaven" (the epochs of natural disasters).

Again, f o u (b'*ĩ*ōg a) Kt for a word p i a o (p*ĩ*og) 'ample' (in Ode 223 written with d: e) says Ch'en Huan on Ode 262 phr. f.: "The warriors were (ample:) numerous". — Refuted in Gloss 1035. f. = "The warriors form a mighty flow".

Again, f o u (b'*ĩ*ōg a) Kt for f a (b'*ĩ*uāt g) 'to punish' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: T'ou hu phr. h.: "Those who behave thus are punished" (sc. have to drink a cup as punishment in the game). f o u was already defined as meaning f a by Cheng Hūan, but Chu confirms this by stating that they were "alike but for one sound" (yi sheng chī chuan). — Reject. Wang Fu-chī (followed by Ho Yi-hang): "For those who behave thus, a (flowing:) brimful" (cup of punishment).

292. f o u (b'*ĩ*ōg a) 'to steam, to heat' Kt for p' a o (b'*ĩ*ōg b) 'kitchen' says Chu Tsün-sheng (followed by Sun Yi-jang) on Lü: Pen wei phr. c.: "the cook", who for instance in Mo: Shang hien, chung is called d. — We have two closely cognate words f o u (b'*ĩ*ōg a) 'to heat' and p' a o (b'*ĩ*ōg e) 'to roast'. The word p' a o (b'*ĩ*ōg b) 'kitchen' is clearly etym. id. with e. ("the roasting room"). It is not at all sure that f o u - j e n c. should be read p' a o - j e n d., nor *vice versa*. Both give the meaning of the one who heats food, and the two expressions may have been used concurrently.

其身 d 僵 c 鳥焚其巢 f 旅焚其次 286 a 逢 b 豐 c 子孫 其逢 d 封  
e 縫 f 縫齊倍要 287 a 逢 b 井 c 乃逢是吉 d 乃井是吉 288 a 封  
b 寔 c 既封而帛 d 壘壘 289 a 豐 b 鋒 c 刑振以豐 290 a 不 b 鄙  
c 丕 d 否 e 拊(拊拊) f 鄂不韡韡 g 備 h 不殫(否 i 北 j 否城凶 291  
a 浮 b 佛 c 不浮于天時 d 瀟 e 雨雪瀟瀟 f 武夫浮浮 g 罰 h 若是

293. f u (*pīwo* a) 'man' Kt for y a (*ngā* b) 'tooth' says Kuo Mo-jo on the Kün fu Kuei inscr. phr. c. Kuo thinks that this Kün-fu was id. with the Kün Ya d., sī-t'u in Mu Wang's reign; this because *pīwo* and *ngā* "belonged to the same final class"(!). — Reject. Kün-fu was probably a title.

294. f u (*b'īwo* a) 'to support' Kt for p' u (*b'wo* b) 'to crawl' says Lu Tê-ming on Li: T'an Kung phr. c. Lu says: read either in the regular way of these characters (which gives Arch. *b'īwo-b'īūk*) or *b'wo-b'ək*, which latter corresponds to d. Thus Lu (alternatively) takes c. as Kt for the phonetically similar d. — This raises an important question. There exist, in the Arch. texts, a number of binomes with a great variation in their constituent parts. The present one, 'to crawl', occurs as d. *b'wo-b'ək* (Mao Shī), c. *b'īwo-b'īūk* (Lu and Ts'i Shī), e. *b'wo-b'īūk* (Tso Chao 13), f. *b'īwo-b'īūk* (Tso: Chao 21), g. *b'wo-b'īūk* (Kuo ts'ê: Ts'in). It would, in point of principle, be quite erroneous to state that the Arch. reading of the binome was only one of these alternatives, e.g. *b'wo-b'ək*, and that all the others were Kt for this and should, in spite of the divergences in characters, all be read *b'wo-b'ək*. On the contrary, this was evidently a binome which appeared with a considerable latitude of sound variation in the Arch. language: *b'wo-b'ək*: *b'īwo-b'īūk* etc. existed side by side and we must beware of drawing any Kt conclusions in cases like this. There are quite a number of binomes with such alternative readings: 'to dance' was *b'wā-sā* and *b'wār-sā* and *b'wān-sā* (Gloss 334); 'to linger, hesitate' was *d'īēg-d'īu* and *d'īēk-d'īuk* etc. (Gloss 116); 'relaxed' was *b'wān-gīwān* and *b'wān-g'wān* and *p'wān-χwān* (Gloss 832).

295. f u (*b'īwo* a) 'to support' Kt for f u (*pīwo* b) 'breadth of four fingers' says Lu Tê-ming on Li: T'ou hu, where a. has this meaning; b. occurs with the same meaning in Kung-yang Hi: 31. That Lu means that a. was Kt for b. and not *vice versa* appears from his readings. He says a. Anc. *pīu* (Arch. *pīwo*) inst. of its ordinary Anc. *b'īu* (Arch. *b'īwo*), and b. Anc. *pīu* (Arch. *pīwo*). Thus really a *pīwo* for a *pīwo*. — Plausible.

296. f u (*pīwo* a) 'great' etc. Kt for f u (*p'īwo* b) 'to play (an instrument)' says Kuo Mo-jo on the K'uang Fu inscr. phr. c.: "(K'uang) played the Elephant dance" (earlier in the inscr. called d.). — Plausible.

297. f u (*pīwo* a) 'great' Kt for h ü (*χīwo* b) 'ceremonial cap' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Yili: Shī kuan li phr. c. "The (cap called) *ch ang - f u* was the way of the Yin (dynasty)"; this because immediately after, the same passage has d. — Reject. The context clearly shows that *ch ang - f u* and h ü were different objects.

298. f u (*b'īwo* a) 'protecting board, to protect' Kt for w u (*mīu* b) 'to insult' says Chu Yu-tseng on Yi Chou shu: Yün wen phr. c.: "Among youngsters and grown-up men there were none who insulted or opposed (the rulers)". — Reject. a. is rather Kt for p' u, f u (*p'wo*, *p'īwo* d) 'suffering', here taken in the causative: 'to cause suffering, to harass' (see Gloss 1037): "There were none who harassed or opposed (their rulers)".

299. f u (*pīwo* a) 'a kind of ritual vessel' Kt for f u (*pīwo* b) 'skin' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Yi: Kua 23 phr. c., which is King Fang's text version (ap. Lu Tê-

ming), the orthodox version being d. "The bed is destroyed (along with:) up to the skin". — Plausible. Wang K'ai-yün proposes that "skin" here means the cover of the bed, but the traditional idea that it means the skin of the occupant is confirmed by a parallel in Kua 43. In any case a. makes no sense and must be a Kt.

300. f u p' u (b'íwo, b'wo a) 'to crawl' Kt for f u (b'íwo b) 'to support' says Liu Sin-yüan (K'í ku shí) on the Ta Yü Ting inscr. phr. c. which would be equal to d.: "He supported and aided (the regions of) the four quarters". — Wang Kuo-wei reminds of Shu: Kin t'eng phr. e. (orthodox version) and says that a. is Kt for f u (p'íwo f) 'extensive, wide'. Kuo Mo-jo has accepted this, taking c. in the inscr. to be Kt for e. But, in fact, the y u (g) is only a Kt for the homophonous y u (h) (Yü Yüe, Wang] Kuo-wei, see Gloss 1572). Thus our inscr. c. is simply equal to the emended Shu phr. i: "He extensively possessed the (regions of the) four quarters". a. Kt for f. is more convincing than a. for b., since a. and f. belong to the same Hs series. — When Yang Shu-ta (Kin wen shuo 62) proposes that the f u (p'íwo f) of the Shu phr. e. is Kt for f u (p'íwo j) 'to soothe, pacify', this is an unnecessary loan speculation.

301. f u (p'íwo a) 'to extend, extensively' Kt for f u (p'íug b) 'to trust' says Kuo Mo-jo on the Shu Yi Chung inscr. phr. c.: "I have trusted your heart". — Reject. The same inscr. has a. in three more phrases: d., e., f., and here a., if taken to mean b., makes no sense. It would seem more natural to take p'íwo a. to be Kt for f u (p'íwo g) 'to soothe, pacify'. This inscr., however, is known only through the Po ku t'u, and the reproduction of it cannot be relied on.

302. f u (b'íwo a) 'to attach, apply, arrive at' Kt for f u (b'íu b) 'to adhere to' says Lu Tê-ming on Ode 224 phr. c.: "It touches Heaven". The idea a. Kt for b. was already advanced by Fu K'ien in comm. on Han shu: Kao ti ki. — Reject. A word f u (p'íwo) 'to assist' (likewise written a.) (Shí etc.) and our f u (b'íwo a) 'to attach' are two aspects of the same word stem (p'íwo = the one attached, the assistant), and b'íwo a. is not identical with but only cognate to b'íu b. Thus c. = "It reaches Heaven".

303. f u (b'íwo a) 'to attach, apply' etc. Kt for f u (p'íu b) 'to furnish' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Chouli: Tsiang jen phr. c.: "One can furnish the work of a crowd (of workmen)". Sun Yi-jang instead proposes that a. is Kt for f u (p'íwo d.) 'to spread out' which, by extension, would mean 'to furnish'. Very far-fetched. — a. itself, without Kt, is well attested (Tso etc.) in the sense of 'to apply'. Thus c.: "One can apply the work of a crowd (of workmen)."

者浮 292 a 浮 b 庖 c 浮人 d 庖人 e 炮 293 a 夫 b 牙 c 君夫 d 君  
牙 294 a 扶 b 葡 c 扶服 d 葡萄 e 蒲伏 f 扶伏 g 蒲服 295 a 扶 b  
膚 296 a 甫 b 撫 c 甫象 d 象舞 297 a 甫 b 阜 c 章甫殷道 d 殷阜  
298 a 輔 b 侮 c 童壯無輔無拂 d 痛 299 a 簋 b 膚 c 剝牀以簋 d 以  
膚 300 a 匍 b 扶 c 匍有四方 d 扶佑四方 e 敷佑四方 f 敷 g 佑 h  
有 i 敷有四方 j 撫 301 a 尊 b 孚 c 余既尊乃心 d 女尊余于艱卹

304. f u (*b'iu* a) 'to attach, apply' etc. Kt for f u (*b'iu* b) 'a tally' says Cheng Ta-fu on Chouli: Siao tsai phr. c.: "He decides about debts by aid of the (tallies:) deeds". — This is tempting but unnecessary. Cheng Hsüan retains a. with its common meaning 'to attach' (= d.): "He decides about debts by aid of the attached halves" (the two tallies, kept by the two parties, giving details of loan terms etc., attached to the principal document).

305. f u (*piwo* a) 'to assist, assistant' Kt for f u (*p'ü* b) 'aid, assistant' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 259 phr. c.: "The King charged the (assistant manager =) premier", this because Cheng Hsüan has explained f u - y ü as = "the prime minister". — Reject. a. has two readings (two aspects of the same word stem, see under 302 above): *b'iu* 'to attach, apply' and *piwo* '(to be attached =) to be assistant', cf. Gloss 1011.

306. f u (*piwo* a) 'to tax' etc. Kt for f u (*p'iu* b) 'to extend, extensively' in Tso: Hi 27 phr. c., which is a quotation from Shu: Kao Yao mo phr. d.: "Extensively they make reports", see Gloss 1328.

Again a. Kt for f u (*p'iu* e., same word as b.) says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 260 phr. f.: "He causes the bright decree to be promulgated" and g.: "Promulgate the government abroad". Indeed, as pointed out by Yang Shu-ta, in the Mao Kung Ting inscr. we find the phrases h. and i. — Plausible. Thus, in the Ode phr. f. our a. should really be read *p'iu*, not *piwo*.

On the other hand, when Chu says that a. is Kt for b. in Kyü: Tsin yü phr. j.: "to give offices" (Wei Chao: a. = k.) and in Lü: Fen ch'ī phr. l.: (he took out weapons from the arsenal and) "gave them to the people" (Kao Yu: a. = m.; this phr. balancing another, n., in the preceding line), it is less convincing. a. may well have its proper reading here: *piwo*. The word stem has a fundamental sense of 'to deliver'; (to cause, to deliver =) 'to tax', (the things delivered =) 'tax', (to deliver to =) 'to give'. Cf. *ch'eng* o. and *feng* p., each of which means both 'to receive' and 'to give' (the fundamental sense being 'to hand over').

307. f u (*b'iu* a) in the phr. f u - l o u b. 'a hillock' is Hsü Shen's version of a phr. in Tso: Siang 24, the orthodox version having p o u - l o u c. Lu Tê-ming reads d. *b'zu*, i.e. Arch. *b'ag*. — a. is not Kt for d., but the binome existed in two variants: *b'iu-lu* and *b'ag-lu*, cf. the discussion under e. in parag. 294 above.

308. f u (*b'iu* a) 'to adjoin a recently dead in the sacrifices to an earlier generation' Kt for p e i (*b'ag* b) 'complete' says Cheng Hsüan on Li: Tseng ts'ī wen phr. c.: "To one prematurely dead there is not made a complete sacrifice". — Reject. c. = "One prematurely dead is not adjoined (in sacrifices to earlier generations)".

309. f u (*p'iu* a) 'to trust' etc. Kt for f u (*piu* b) 'to give' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Shu: Kao Tsung jung j'ī, where the Ku-wen version had c., but the Kin-wen version had d.: "Heaven has given its grant of life". — Reject. a. is not Kt for b.; the two versions represent different text tradition. c. = "Heaven has truly granted life"; d. means as stated above, See Gloss 1491.

Again, Sun Sing-yen says a. is Kt for b. in Shu: Kün Sh'ī phr. e.: "Forever endowed with felicity". — Reject. e. = "For all future one trusts in one's felicity", see Gloss 1859.



In the instance c. above, Ts'ai Ch'en had explained that a. 'to trust' has the meaning of f u (*b'iu* f) 'a tally', thus "Heaven has given evidence and m i n g given orders"; refuted in Gloss 1859. But Chang Ping-lin (Wen shī 7) proposes that when a. (first meaning of the graph being 'to hatch') is employed in the sense of 'to trust', it is really Kt for f u f. 'tally'. A curious idea.

310. f u (*p'iu* a) 'to hatch; to trust, sincere' etc. Kt for w u (*miu* b) 'to hurry about' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Yi: Kua 44 phr. c. "The lean pig hurries about and jumps about". This is because Wang Pi had said d.: f u a. is equal to w u (*miu* e) 'to apply oneself' here meaning f. Chu thinks e. here stands for the homophonous b. — Possible but unlikely. Fu a. may here be taken adverbially: c. = "The lean pig truly jumps about".

311. f u (*p'iu* a) 'prisoner of war' Kt for p a o (*pôg* b) 'precious thing' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Ch'un ts'iu: Chuang 6 phr. c.: "Men from Ts'i came and presented the treasures from Wei". Both Tso, Kung-yang and Ku-liang read d., and Tu Yü concludes that a. of the Ch'un ts'iu text is wrong for b.; Tuan, instead, says Kt. — Unnecessary. The two versions may represent different text traditions. As pointed out by Legge, a. may by extension of meaning be = 'spoils, booty'. c.: "Men from Ts'i came and presented the spoils from Wei". d.: "the treasures from Wei".

312. f u (*b'io* a) 'drumstick' Kt for f u (*p'iu* b) 'raft' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai, followed by Liu Pao-nan, on Lun: Kung-ye Ch'ang phr. c.: "I will mount a raft and float about on the sea". b. 'raft' is attested in Kyü: Ts'i yü. — Unlikely. The final -g in a. makes it natural to pose an Arch. *p'iu* g 'raft', for which a. is Kt.

313. f u (*piwat* a) 'not' Kt for f u, f e i (*piwat*, *piwäd* b) 'to expel noxious influences' says Cheng Hüan on Ode 245 phr. c.: "(in order to eliminate her having no child =) that she might no longer be childless". — Mao Heng had defined a. here as = d., and Lu Tê-ming thinks that Mao then took a. as Kt for f u (*piwat* e) 'to brush off, wipe off'. The two expl. come to the same, for the tradition was, as stated above, that b. should be read both *piwat* (then with Lu Tê-ming id. with e. 'to brush off' = 'to expel') and *piwäd* (then with Lu id. with f e i [*piwäd* f] 'to throw away' = 'to expel'). Ts'ie-yün likewise gives both readings for b. This shows that to the Sui-T'ang scholars the original reading of b. was unknown and they

c 中尊明刑 f 女台(以)尊戒公家 g 撫 302 a 傅 b 附 c 傳于天 303  
a 傅 b 付 c 可以傅眾力 d 敷 304 a 傅 b 符 c 聽稱責以傅別 d 著  
305 a 傅 b 副 c 王命傅御 306 a 賦 b 敷 c 賦納以言 d 敷納以言 e  
募 f 明命是賦 g 賦政于外 h 尊命尊政 i 尊命于外 j 賦職 k 授 l  
以賦民 m 予 n 予眾 o 承 p 奉 307 a 附 b 附婁 c 部婁 d 部 e 扶  
308 a 祔 b 備 c 殤不祔祭 309 a 孚 b 付 c 天既孚命 d 天既付命 e  
永孚于休 f 符 310 a 孚 b 驚 c 羸豕孚踯躅 d 孚猶務蹢也 e 務 f

have supplied readings for this word acc. to the etymological theories just described, — Probably *p'iwət* a. 'not' in phr. c. was simply used as a verb: "in order to (negate, nullify:) eliminate her having no child".

314. *f u* (*b'iwət* a) 'great; to oppose' etc. Kt for *p i* (*b'jət* b) 'to assist' says Cheng Hüan on Ode 288 phr. c.: "Assist me in shouldering the burden". — Unnecessary, see Gloss 847. c. = "Great is that burden on my shoulder".

In Yi: Kua 27 phr. d.: "Contrary to what is proper" the Tsī-hia chuan ap. Lu Tê-ming read e. and says that *f u* (*p'iwət* f) 'not' means b. (thus being Kt for it), but this makes poor sense.

315. *f u* (*b'iwət* a) 'great; to oppose' etc. Kt for *p o* (*b'wət* b) 'abrupt, suddenly' says Yang Liang on Sün: Fei shī er tsī phr. c.: "All of a sudden the regulating of the customs of the world started". — Unnecessary. a. has its ordinary meaning: "Grandly the regulating etc.".

316. *f u* (*p'iwət* a) 'to brush off, beat off', often Kt for *f u* (*b'iwət* b) 'to oppose' (a word to which it is cognate) is Kt for *p i* (*b'jət* c) 'to assist' says Yang Liang on Sün: Ch'en tao phr. d.: (A minister who dares go against a wicked ruler's orders, corrects him and reestablishes the state) "one calls him a (true) assistant". — Unnecessary. c. = "one calls him a (true) opponent".

Again, on Meng: Kao tsī, hia phr. e. Chao K'i glosses a. as meaning 'to assist', evidently taking it to be Kt for c. "If at home (the prince) has not law-observing dignitaries and assisting henchmen". — This is tempting (accepted in *Grammata Serica*) but not conclusive. Kia Yi: Pao fu has fully paraphrased the expression, giving a. its ordinary meaning of 'to oppose' = 'to remonstrate'; thus: "If at home (the prince) has not (law-giving:) correcting dignitaries and remonstrating henchmen". This makes the best sense, without tampering with the transmitted Meng text through a Kt speculation.

Again, on Mo: Keng chu phr. f. Yü Sing-wu says a. Kt for c.: "Why should I desist from helping that which pains me "etc. — Unnecessary. f. = "Why should I desist from (brushing off:) resisting that which pains me (i.e. my own suffering) but (brush off:) resist that which does not pain me (i.e. the suffering of others)".

317. *f u* (*p'iwət* a) 'to brush off, beat off' in Ta Tai: Wen Wang kuan jen phr. b.: "The mien of anger is abruptly-changing (flushing) and insulting" is evidently a Kt (within the same Hs series) for c. in Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, shang phr. d.: "Tseng Si abruptly-changing (flushing) was displeased". This c., however, in Ts'ie-yün has two readings; *f u* (*p'iwət*) and *p o* (*b'wət*). The latter reminds of the fact that we have a kindred word *p o* (*b'wət* e) 'abrupt, suddenly', e.g. Meng: Wan Chang, hia phr. f.: "The King abruptly-changing (flushing) changed colour". Evidently Lu Fa-yen took c. to be a word appearing under two aspects of the same stem: *p'iwət* and *b'wət*, the latter id. with e.

Again, in Ode 241 phr. g. the word *f u* (*p'iwət* h) 'shrubby', which is often Kt for a word *f u* (*p'iwət*) 'large' (cognate to *f u* *b'iwət* i. 'large', see Gloss 847), recurs in Kuang-ya as j.; but the e. here is not defined as 'abrupt' but as k. 'ample', which shows that *b'wət* e. was Kt for *p'iwət* h. 'large' in some ancient Shī school: g. = "The approachers and knockers were large".

Again, *f u* (*p'iwat h*) 'shrubby' is Kt for *p o* (*b'wat e*) 'abrupt' says Ts'uei Chuan (ap. Lu Tê-ming) on Chuang: Jen kien shī phr. 1.: "The breath comes (abruptly:) in spasms". — Plausible.

318. *f u* (*p'iwat a*) 'to brush off, beat off' Kt for *p a* (*b'wät b*) 'to pull out' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: T'ien yün phr. c. — This makes poor sense. The text describes the wind: c. = "Who (is it that) passive and without action makes that (sc. the wind) brush along". The meaning *p'i - f u* (here causative: 'to cause to *p'i - f u*) is clear: *p'i* means 'to disperse' (e.g. in Tso); *f u* 'to brush'.

319. *f u* (*b'jók a*) 'to return' Kt for *f u* (*b'jūk b*) 'to lie down, hidden' etc. says Chang Ping-lin on Chuang: Yü yen phr. c. — The traditional interpr. takes *f u a.* as a verb: "(Man) receives his mental powers from the Great Root, and (bringing back:) restoring this intelligence he lives". Chang, however, adduced Ch'u Shao-sun (Shī ki: Kuei ts'ê chuan) who speaks of a magical root *f u - ling d.*, properly "the deeply hidden divine thing", later on well known as a medicine. He believes that the *f u - ling c.* in the Chuang text, stands for this. — Ingenious but unconvincing. *d.* is only attested some four centuries later than Chuang, and the philosophical context clearly decides in favour of the traditional interpretation without any Kt.

320. *f u* (*pjók a*) 'belly; to embrace' Kt for *f u* (*p'jüg b*) 'to hatch' says Wen Yi-to on Ch'u ts'í: T'ien wen phr. c.: "The lord Yü (was hatched by:) was born by Kun". One text version had *d.* inst. of *a.*, evidently an inferior version, see Conrady, T'ienwen p. 192. — Reject. With Maspero, *f u a.* is here a verb: c. = "The lord Yü (bellied with =) was in the belly of Kun".

321. *f u* (*b'jūk a*) 'to lie down, hidden' etc. Kt for *p a o* (*pög b*) 'to wrap' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Yü fu phr. c.: "K'ung-tsi embraced the cross-bar". — Reject. c. = "K'ung-tsi leant down over the cross-bar (of the carriage)".

322. *f u* (*b'jūk a*) 'to lie down, hidden' etc. Kt for *p i* (*pjak b*) 'to coerce' says Chang Ping-lin on Kuan: Ch'í mi phr. c., adding that *f u* (*b'jwo d*) 'father' is Kt for *p u* (*pwo f*) 'to seize' (*d.* being Phonetic in *e.*, thus *f.* belonging to the same Hs series as *d.*). The phr. c. would thus be equal to *g*: (The dishonest officials:) "One seizes, fetters and coerces them". — Very arbitrary. As shown by Wang

躁 311 a 倖 b 寶 c 齊人來歸衛俘 d 衛寶 312 a 桴 b 泅 c 乘桴浮  
于海 313 a 弗 b 拔 c 以弗無子 d 去 e 拂 f 廢 314 a 佛 b 弼 c 佛  
時仔肩 d 拂經 e 弗經 f 弗 315 a 佛 b 勃 c 佛然平世之俗起 316  
a 拂 b 拂 c 弼 d 謂之拂也 e 入則無法家拂士 f 我何故疾者之不  
拂而不疾者之拂 317 a 拂 b 怒色拂然以侮 c 勃 d 曾西勃然不悅  
e 勃 f 王勃然變乎色 g 臨衝弗弗 h 弗 i 佛 j 臨衝勃勃 k 盛 l  
氣息弗然 318 a 拂 b 拔 c 孰居無事而拔拂是 319 a 復 b 伏 c 夫

Nien-sun (Tsa chī), f u d. is a wrong char. for the similar y u h., and c. means: "Furthermore one fetters and (makes them lie down =) subjects them (to punishments)". (*b'ĩũk* a. being really etymologically the same word as *b'ĩũk* i).

**323.** f u (*b'ĩũk* a) 'to subdue, submit' etc. Kt for p e i (*b'ĩæg* b) says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Yi: Hi ts'i phr. c.: "They yoked oxen and put horses to the chariots"; this because Shuowen quotes the Yi line d. — Unlikely. The word b. in Ts'ie-yün has the Anc. Chin. reading *b'ji*, indicating Arch. *b'ĩæg*, but it is there defined as = 'an ox having complete teeth'. If the word is used in Shuowen in the sense of 'to yoke', it is a Kt for *b'ĩũk* a, not *vice versa*. a. in the sense of 'to yoke' (properly: 'to subdue = to tame, to break in, put under the yoke') is common.

**324.** f u (*b'ĩũk* a) 'to subdue, submit' etc. Kt for f u (*b'ĩøk* b) 'to return, revert' says Wen Yi-to on texts where a. means 'to think' (e.g. Shu: K'ang kao phr. c., Ode 1, phr. d.); the idea would be: 'to revert to', to come back to something in one's mind, to ponder, to think'. — Unnecessary. f u a. 'to submit to' by extension means 'to take upon oneself, to labour with', hence: 'to ponder', and a. should certainly not be read *b'ĩøk*.

Again, in Lao-tsī par. 59 phr. e., Wang Ying-lin (K'un hūe ki wen) reads b., and many later writers have adopted this: "That is an early return". It seems possible that already Wang Pi either had the b. text, or having e., took a. as Kt for b. But Yü Yüe (Chu tsī) points out that Hanfei in his chapter Kie Lao had a. and by no means took it as Kt for b., but in the sense of 'to labour': e. = "That is called an early (working on it:) application". This is surely right.

Again, a. Kt for b. says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Ta tsung shī phr. g.: "You must yourself revert to benevolence and righteousness". — Unnecessary. g. = "You must yourself labour at benevolence and righteousness".

**325.** f u (*b'ĩũk* a) 'to subdue, submit' etc. Kt for f u (*b'ĩũg* b) 'to carry on the back' says Cheng Chung on Chouli: Kū jen phr. c., which he defines as meaning d. 'carriage box' (Cheng Hüan says = e. 'bars on top of sides of carriage box, thus *pars pro toto* the same as d.). — In support of the meaning 'carriage box' might be adduced Huai: Jen kien phr. f.: "In carriages with boxes one transported grain", and here the graph is b. — Whether a. is Kt for b. or b. in Huai is Kt for a. is obscure. Possibly the former is Kt, since f u b. 'to carry on the back' here could be = 'the carrying part' of the carriage.

Again, a. Kt for b. says Hung Yi-süan on Ta Tai: Kao chī phr. g.: "The Lo river brings out (something) carried on the back" (i.e. script on the back of a tortoise), the line then continuing h.: "The Ho river brings out the Drawing". In spite of this parallelism Hung's interpr. is really too elliptical, and Yü Yüe condemns it. He says f u a. = i. 'law, rules': "The Ho river brings out the Laws (the code)", and he quotes Lü: Lo ch'eng phr. j., interpreting: "The elegants and the rustics have their laws". This, however, is inconclusive, for this j., with Kao Yu, means: "The elegants and the rustics have their (proper) clothes". Yet Yü may be right in regard to g., since f u a. 'to subdue, submit' may by extension have come to mean 'to restrict, to regulate, regulations'.

326. f u (b'ĩŭk a) 'to subdue, submit' etc. Kt for p u (b'uk b) 'servant' says Yü Yüe on Ta Tai: Tsī-chang wen ju kuan phr. c.: "All the ministers and servants". — Plausible. A few lines earlier there was d.

327. f u (b'ĩŭg a) 'to carry on the back' Kt for f u (p'ĩug b) 'to hatch' says Ma Juei-ch'en on Ode 196 phr. c.: "The solitary wasp rears them". — Unnecessary. c. = "The solitary wasp carries them on its back", see Gloss 586.

328. f u (b'ĩŭg a) 'to carry on the back' Kt for p' e i (b'wag b), but not in its ordinary sense but = 'to ride upon, to be on top of' says Sun Yi-jang on Ta Tai: Hia siao cheng phr. c.: (In spring) "the fishes rise and come above the ice". — Unlikely; the ordinary meaning is more natural: "The fishes rise and touch the ice with their backs" (i.e. break through). Sun bases himself on Wang Nien-sun (Tsa chī yü pien), who on Chuang: Siao yao yu phr. d. explains: "And now it (sc. the great bird) mounts on the wind". But the old interpr. b. = e. 'piled up': "And now there is accumulated wind" is much simpler and more convincing. The only support for his definition that Wang can give is that p' e i (b'wag b) "is similar in sound" to p' i n g (b'ĩəng f) 'to ascend, stand on', clearly to be rejected.

329. f u (b'ĩŭg a) 'to carry on the back' Kt for p' e i (p'ĩəg b) 'great' in Shu: Kin t'eng phr. c., which was Si-ma Ts'ien's text corresp. to d. in the orthodox text. — There have been various explanations of this a., but the Kt theory seems simplest, see the full discussion in Gloss 1569. c. = "If you three kings really (have the debt of a great son =) owe a great son (to Heaven)".

330. f u (b'ĩŭg a) 'to carry on the back' Kt for f u (b'ĩu b) 'to attach' says Wen Yi-to on Yi: Kua 38 phr. c.: "He sees a pig which has (attached itself to =) gone through mud". — Reject. c. = "He sees a pig (carrying on the back =) covered with mud".

331. f u (b'ĩŭg a) 'to carry on the back' Kt for p a o (p'óg b) 'to protect' in the (supposedly primary) sense of 'to hold in the arms' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Siao yao yu phr. c.: "(The water's) holding the boat in its arms has no strength". — Reject. f u a. obviously has its ordinary meaning: "(The water's) carrying the boat has no strength".

332. f u (b'ĩŭg a) 'cucumber' Kt for f o u, f e i (p'ĩŭg, p'ĩəg b) 'black millet with double kernels' says Wang Yin-chī on Kuan: Ti yün phr. c.: "Its kinds are the great black millet, the small black millet" etc. — Plausible.

受才乎大本復靈以生 d 伏靈 320 a 腹 b 孚 c 伯禹腹鯀 d 復 321  
a 伏 b 乃 (包) c 孔子伏軾 322 a 伏 b 徂 c 父繫而伏之 d 父 e 甫 f  
捕 g 捕繫而徂之 h 又 i 服 323 a 服 b 犕 c 服牛乘馬 d 犕牛乘馬  
e 備 f 四害皆服 324 a 服 b 復 c 服念五六日 d 寤寐思服 e 是謂  
早服 g 汝必躬服仁義 325 a 服 b 負 c 牝服 d 車箱 e 較 f 負輦載  
粟 g 雄出服 h 河出圖 i 法 j 都鄙有服 326 a 服 b 僕 c 羣臣服 d  
羣臣僕 327 a 負 b 孚 c 螺贏負之 328 a 負 b 培 c 無涉負冰 d 乃

333. f u (*pīūk a*) 'blessing, happiness' Kt for p a o (*pōg b*) 'precious, to treasure' says Kuo Mo-jo on the Sī Yu inscr. phr. c.: "May sons and grandsons forever treasure it". — Reject. Kuo wants to carry through the common formula in similar inscriptions t s ī s u n y u n g p a o, but that is unnecessary and arbitrary here. c. = "May sons and grandsons forever be blessed (have happiness)".

334. f u (*pīūk a*) 'blessing, happiness' Kt for f u (*b'īūk b*) 'to submit, dependency' etc. says Yü Sing-wu on Ode 305 phr. c.: "He grandly established their dependencies" (i.e. states). — Unnecessary and arbitrary. c. = "grandly to establish their happiness".

335. f u (*pīūk a*) 'blessing, happiness' Kt for p e i (*b'īəg b*) 'to prepare, complete' says Ma Sū-lun on Chuang: Siao yao yu phr. c.: "In regard to what brings completion (perfection) he was not (repeating:) insisting". — Unlikely. The phr. c h ī f u d. is well known from Yi: Kua 51 phr. e.: "The anxiety brings (him) happiness", and c. = "In regard to what brings happiness he was not insisting".

336. f u (*pīūg a*) 'wealth' Kt for f u (*b'īūk b*) 'to submit, suppress' etc. says Yü Sing-wu on Shu: Lü hing phr. c.: "They ended by submitting (the opponents)". — Unlikely. For various expl. of this phr. see Gloss 2043. f u a. (with Wang Yin-chī and Sun Sing-yen) is Kt (within the same Hs series) for f u (*pīūk d.*) 'happiness', a. and d. being cognate words. c. = "They ended by (creating) happiness".

Again, on Shu: Ku ming phr. e. Yü Sing-wu says a. Kt for b.: "There was greatly peace and submission". On the other hand, Sun Sing-yen says a. Kt for p e i (*b'īəg f*): "They were great and perfected". All refuted in Gloss 2015, with a full discussion of various theories about the whole passage. e. = "They grandly tranquillized and enriched (the people)".

Again, on Ode 188 phr. g. Yü Sing-wu says a. Kt for b.: "You really are not submissive". — Unnecessary and arbitrary (see Gloss 188). g. = "Truly you will not thereby have any happiness".

337. h a i (*g'ād a*) 'to hurt, damage' Kt for k a i (*kād b*) say Wu K'ai-sheng (Shang shu hou ki) and Yang Shu-ta (Kin wen shuo) on the Po Kia-fu Kuei inscr. phr. c., but not in its ordinary sense of 'to beg' but meaning 'to give', s i - k a i being a binome: c. = "And so give a vigorous old age". They refer to Kuang-ya: Shī ku, san phr. d., but even the diligent Wang Nien-sun has not been able to find any pre-Han text examples confirming this Kuang-ya entry. — In Odes 154 and 283 we find phr. e.; in the Wu Huei Ting inscr. phr. f.; in the Shī K'uei-fu Ting inscr. phr. g. The contention of Wu and Yang is that not only a. in phr. c. and k o (*kāt h*) 'to cut' in phr. f. but also the k i e (*kād i*) in phr. e. were Kt for b. 'to beg', here = 'to give'. This last lacking pre-Han support, we have to choose between two alternatives. Either all stand for b. 'to beg': "to beg for a vigorous old age"; this, however, is not applicable in phr. c. Or all stand for i. (Shī having the proper graph, and a., b. and h. being Kt for i). This was the opinion of Liu Sin-yüan (K'i ku shī), a pioneer work of the greatest value, largely drawn upon by later authors. Liu was undoubtedly right. There are two meanings of the char. k i e (*kād i*) well attested in the earliest texts. One is 'great, make great, enhance, increase'; one is 'to assist', see Glosses 374, 563, 679, 1091. — All our phrases above

belong to the former category. c. = "in order to give and (enhance:) increase a vigorous old age"; e., f. and g. = "in order to (enhance:) increase a vigorous old age". — We find our *h a i* (*g'ád a*) as well-attested Kt for this *k i e* (*kád i*) 'great' in another inscription context: Shu To-fu P'an phr. j: "to bestow a great felicity" (see Sun Yi-jang, *Ku chou yü lun*).

Again, on Shu: To fang phr. k, Wu K'ai-sheng says i. is Kt for b. in the sense of 'to give'. This has been refuted above. i. has here its second meaning 'to help, assist' k. = "We will greatly help and reward you" (Gloss 1930).

338. *h a i* (*g'ád a*) 'to hurt, damage' Kt for *h o* (*g'át b*) 'which, what, when, where, why' e.g. in Ode 2, phr. c. = "Which shall I wash, which not?"; Yi Chou shu: Tu yi phr. d. = "Why do you not sleep?" etc. On the other hand, several instances where ancient commentators have taken a. as Kt for b. should have a. in its ordinary sense, e.g. Shu: T'ang shī phr. e. = "He (sc. the tyrant) daily injures and destroys" (see Gloss 1407); Cheng Hsüan on Ode 39 phr. f., see Gloss 111.

339. *h a i* (*g'ád a*) 'to hurt, damage' Kt for *n g o* (*'át b*) 'to stop, repress' says Yü Sing-wu on Mo: Fei kung, hia phr. c.: "If one does not (stop) repress them continuously" (Sun Yi-jang had suggested that a. was a mistake for d.). — Unnecessary. c. = "If one does not hurt them continuously".

Again, on Kuan: Ts'i fa phr. e. Yü Sing-wu likewise says a. Kt for b. Unnecessary, a. making equally good sense.

340. *h a i* (*g'ág a*) 'to smile as a baby; a baby' Kt for *k' i* (*g'íag b*) 'to expect, to aim at' says Yü Sing-wu on Mo: Siu shen phr. c.: "The (aim:) inclination to kill or injure people finds no place in his heart". Similarly, on Chuang: T'ien yün phr. d. Yü says a. is Kt for b., but here read *k i* (*kíag*) 'a year': "Not yet reaching a year (of age)". — In phr. c. Pi Yüan had proposed that a. is Kt for *k a i* (*kag e*) 'root': "The (root:) motive for killing or injuring people has no place in his heart" (this accepted by Sun Yi-jang). But e. is not attested in pre-Han texts. In fact, there is no reason why a. should not in both cases have its proper meaning. In d. the context clearly proves this: (The infants could speak at 5 months); "before becoming (3 years old) babies, they...". c. = "to kill or injure people's babies finds no place in his heart".

Again, for Shu: Wei Tsi phr. f. Wang Ch'ung (*Lun heng*: Pen sing) reads g., and Tsiao Sün and Sun Yi-jang believe that *h a i* a. and *k' o* (*k'ək h*) 'to injure' are

今培風 e 重 f 馮 329 a 負 b 丕 c 若爾三王是有負子之責 d 丕子  
之責 330 a 負 b 附 c 見豕負塗 331 a 負 b 保 c 其負大舟也無力  
332 a 負 b 經 c 其種大負細負 333 a 福 b 寶 c 子孫永福 334 a 福  
b 服 c 封建厥福 335 a 福 b 備 c 彼於致福者未數數然也 d 致福  
e 恐致福 336 a 富 b 服 c 惟託于富 d 福 e 丕平富 f 備 g 誠不以  
富 337 a 害 b 勾 c 用錫害眉壽 d 勾與也 e 以介眉壽 f 用制眉壽  
g 用勾眉壽 h 割 c 介 j 受害福 k 惟其大介齊爾 338 a 害 b 曷 c

Kt for Ki in Ki-tsī (*kjəg* i). Refuted in Gloss 1510. f. = "I long ago said that one would injure you".

On Mo: Ming Kuei phr. j. Yü Sing-wu again says *h a i - t s ī* (g) is Kt for Ki-tsī (i). — Arbitrary and unnecessary. Sun Yi-jang: j. = "He (the tyrant Chou) killed babies".

341. *h a n* (*χán* a) 'dry, to burn' Kt for *kin* (*kjən* b) 'careful, respectful' says Yü Sing-wu on Ode 209 phr. c.: "We are very respectful". — Reject. The char. a. has two readings, with Lu Tê-ming: *χán* and *ñjan*. This is because the *χán* 'to burn' is synonymous with the word *j a n* (*ñjan* d) 'to burn, to roast', and a. could therefore (as a "synonym Kt") be used as a variant for this *ñjan* d. This practice having been established, a. in its second reading *ñjan* (= d.) is then also used as Kt (with Tuan Yü-ts'ai) for *j a n* (*ñjan* e) 'to fear', used in the sense of 'to be awe-struck: respectful'. Cf. Glosses 664 and 693.

342. *h a n* (*χán* a) 'to scorch, withered' Kt for *yen* (*jan* b) 'withered' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Ode 69 phr. c. — Reject. b. is a dictionary word with no early text examples. c. = "Scorched (by the sun) are the dry ones". See Gloss 202.

343. *h a n* (*g'án* a) 'to ward off, protect' Kt for *yüan* (*giwán* b) 'to pull' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Lü: Yung sai phr. c.: "One drew the bow and shot him"; this because Kao Yu defines a. by d. — Unlikely. Within the same Hs series there is the word *h a n* (*g'án* e) 'archer's arm-cover, cuff' (etym. the same word as a.: "the protection"), and a. stands for e., the latter taken as a verb: c. = "One ("cuffed" =) put the arm-cover on the bow and shot him".

344. *h a n* (*g'án* a) 'worm in (wells:) puddles', mosquito larva' Kt for *yüan* (*giwan* b) 'to crawl as a caterpillar', here then 'a creeping thing' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Ts'iu shuei in an enumeration of water animals moving in water. — Unnecessary. Lu Tê-ming says: "a. is read *g'án*, another name (for the animal) is b.". Acc. to Lu *g'án* and *giwan* were two different names for one and the same animal, but a. was certainly not (with Ma) read *giwan*.

345. *h a n* (*χán* a) 'net' Kt for *yün* (*giwěn* b) 'little, a few' says Chang Ping-lin (Siao hüe ta wen) on the frequent cases in which a. means 'rare' (e.g. Ode 78). — Reject. It is true that Hsü Shen defines b. as = c., but the commentators have in vain laboured to find any evidence in support of this; therefore Tuan Yü-ts'ai has concluded that c. is wrong for d. In any case, Chang's idea is a wild guess.

346. *h a n* (*g'em* a) 'to envelop' Kt for *hien* (*g'em* b) 'to fall down, fall into, throw down' says Liu Sin-yüan on the Mao Kung Ting inscr. phr. c.: "throw down into distress". — Conclusive; followed by all later writers on inscriptions.

347. *h a n* (*g'em* a) 'to soak' in Ode 198 phr. b. has been variously explained as Kt for *h a n* (*g'em* c) 'to contain, take in' by Mao Heng, as Kt for *hien* (*g'em* d) 'all, to unite' by Cheng Hüan, as Kt for *hien* (*g'em* e) 'to throw down' (sc. in distress) by Yü Sing-wu. — The Han school (ap. Lu Tê-ming) read f.: "The falsehoods are first (reduced:) refuted". This is evidently the preferable version, and *han* (*g'em* a) of the Mao version is Kt for *kien*, *hien* (*kem*, *g'em* g) of the Han school. See Gloss 601.



348. h a n (*g'am a*) 'to hold in the mouth' Kt for k' i e n (*k'liam b*) 'deficient' says Chang Ping-lin on Shu: P'an Keng phr. c. — Reject. As shown by Sun Sing-yen, a. is a wrong char. for s h ê d.; c. = "It is you who reject the good-will" (see Gloss 1421).

349. h a o (*χog a*) 'Artemisia' Kt for h a o (*χmog b*) 'to diminish, reduce' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Kyü: Ch'u yü, shang phr. c.: "to cause the people to be (reduced:) worn out"; this because Wei Chao defines a. by b. Similarly, on Chuang: P'ien mu phr. d. Chu Tsün-sheng says a. Kt for m a o, m o (*mog, mök e*) 'dull-sighted' (text ex. in Meng): "with dulled eyes". — Both unnecessary. h a o a. 'Artemisia' by extension means 'to exhale a perfume' (Li) and hence could serve in the sense of 'to befuddle': c. = "to cause the people to be befuddled (cheated)"; d. = "with (befuddled:) fooled eyes". In regard to d. Yü Yüe proposed that *χog a.* is Kt for a word k. (Kuang-yün Anc. *ik* = Arch. *djök*) 'far-seeing': d. = "with farseeing eyes". But k. is phonetically unsatisfactory and unknown from texts.

Again, on Chouli: Lun jen phr. f. Cheng Chung says h a o, h o (*χog, χök g*) is Kt for h = b: "Even if the nave is damaged, it (is not reduced:) does not contract"; g. is defined in Shuowen as = i. 'plant-like', but this is confirmed by no text. Cheng Hüan, though quoting Cheng Chung, expresses himself so as to show that he took g. as Kt for k a o (*kog j*) 'dried, shrivelled' (a Kt within the same Hs series), as pointed out by Tuan Yü-ts'ai, and this is evidently right; we find the same expressed by j in Sün: K'üan hüe.

350. h a o (*χog a*) 'Artemisia' Kt for k i a o (*kög b*) 'suburb'. In Chouli: Tsai shi phr. c.: "the region of the near suburbs" Tu Tsi-ch'un records an "old text" version with a. (Kt) instead of b.

351. h a o (*χóg a*) 'fine, good; to like, to love' Kt for h ü (*χiuk b*) says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Ode 200 phr. c. This b. 'rising sun, brightness, warmth' occurs reduplicated: h ü h ü in Erya: Shī hün, there defined as = d. 'elated, pleased', and Tuan thinks that the h a o h a o of the Ode is Kt for the h ü h ü of Erya: "The arrogant men are pleased". — The idea is old. Our present Shuowen text says: b. is read like a. (*χóg*), and Lu Tê-ming (on Ode 34) himself reads b. Anc. *χiwok* (Arch. *χiuk*) but he says that Shuowen reads it like a. (*χóg*). In spite of all this the Kt idea is unnecessary and unconvincing. h a o a. 'to love, to like' makes good sense in itself. c. = "The arrogant men are (liking it:) pleased". See further paragr. 501 below.

害 澣 害 否 d 害 不 寢 e 是 日 害 喪 f 不 瑕 有 害 339 a 害 b 遇 c 害 之  
不 久 d 困 e 莫 害 其 後 340 a 孩 b 期 c 殺 傷 人 之 孩 無 存 之 心 d 不  
至 手 孩 e 黃 f 舊 云 刻 子 g 孩 子 h 刻 i 策 子 j 賊 誅 孩 子 341 a 燂  
b 謹 c 戎 孔 燂 臭 d 然 e 難 342 a 嘆 b 蒿 c 嘆 其 乾 矣 343 a 扞 b  
援 c 扞 弓 而 射 之 d 引 e 鈇 344 a 軒 b 蜎 345 a 罕 b 勻 c 少 d 市  
346 a 蘭 b 白 陷 c 蘭 于 蕞 347 a 涵 b 僭 始 既 涵 c 函 d 咸 e 陷 f 僭

352. h a o ( $\chi\acute{o}g$  a) 'fine, good; to love' Kt for h i a o ( $\chi\acute{o}g$  b) 'filial piety' says Kuo Mo-jo on the Mi po Kuei inscr. phr. c. "thereby to show filial piety in the ancestral temple, to sacrifice morning and evening and to show filial piety towards friends". Yang Shu-ta (Kin wen shuo) objects that the second part makes poor sense and would take this second h a o a. in the sense of d. 'to feast (entertain) the friends', h a o meaning 'to show love for'. But then a. would have two readings ( $\chi\acute{o}g$  and  $\chi\acute{o}g$ ) and two meanings in the same line, which is unacceptable. The simplest solution, which satisfies both phrases, is to take h a o a in its own sense: 'fine, good': c. = "thereby being (fine:) well-behaved in the ancestral temple and (fine:) well-behaved with friends".

353. h a o ( $\chi\acute{o}g$  a) 'fine, good; to love' Kt for k' u n g ( $k'ung$  b) 'hole' says Chang Ping-lin (Sin Fang yen) on a. in the sense of 'hole', e.g. Chouli: Yü jen phr. c.: "The hole (in the pi jade-disc) is three inches". — Reject. a. is Kt for a homophonous word h a o ( $\chi\acute{o}g$ ) 'hole'; there is no reason for believing that a. in this sense was ever pronounced  $k'ung$ . (Chu Tsün-sheng proposes that b. is a graphic corruption of a., and this is not impossible, a. often wr. d. in the bronze inscriptions; yet the theory seems bold).

Again, Liu Shī-p'ei, like Chang, asserts that a. is Kt for (and read)  $k'ung$  b. 'hole'. But since b. is often used as Kt for a homophonous  $k'ung$  'very, greatly' (= e), he says, on Lao 30 phr. f., that h a o ( $\chi\acute{o}g$  a) here as well is Kt for k' u n g ( $k'ung$  b) 'very': f. = "Such things greatly (revert:) rebound". — Reject. f. = "Such things (love to:) are wont to rebound" (Waley's formulation).

354. h a o ( $\chi\acute{o}g$  a) 'fine, good; to love' Kt for s i a o ( $s\acute{i}og$  b) 'small' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Yi: Kua 61 phr. c.: "I have a small goblet"; this because an ancient commentator Meng Hi defined a. by b. — Reject. On the other hand, Wen Yi-to proposes that in c. our  $\chi\acute{o}g$  a. is Kt for y ü ( $ng\acute{i}uk$  d) 'jade': "I have a goblet of jade". — Phonetically highly unlikely. c. = "I have a fine goblet".

355. h a o ( $\chi\acute{m}og$  a) 'a kind of millet' Kt for s i a o ( $s\acute{i}og$  b) 'to dissolve' says Chu Tsün-sheng on the various cases where a. means 'to reduce, diminish'. — Reject. a. is Kt for a homophonous word ( $\chi\acute{m}og$ ) 'to reduce'; no reason for believing that it was ever pronounced  $s\acute{i}og$ .

356. h a o ( $g'\acute{o}g$  a) 'vast, great' Kt for a o ( $ngog$  b) 'proud, arrogant' says Pi Yüan (foll. by Yü Sing-wu) on Mo: Fei ju, hia phr. c., this because Si-ma Ts'ien (K'ung tsi shī kia) correspondingly has d. Thus c. = "The Confucians are proud and arrogant and self-willed". The binome k ü - a o (as in d.) 'proud, arrogant' is well-known (ex. in Sün: Pu Kou, Chuang: Yü fu). — Unnecessary. The story of Yen-tsi's interview with prince King of Ts'i reverts in several texts, and c. and d. represent different text traditions. h a o a. means (with Sun Yi-jang) 'grand, extravagant', and the c. version has it: "The Confucians (extravagantly dwell =) live an extravagant life and are self-willed".

始既減 g 減 348 a 舍 b 歎 c 惟汝舍德 d 舍 349 a 蒿 b 耗 c 使民  
蒿焉 d 蒿目 e 眈 f 穀雖夥不歎 g 歎 h 耗 i 草艸 j 樗 k 矐 350

357. *h a o* (*g'og a*) 'to cry out, to command' Kt for *h u* (*g'o b*) 'how, why' says Yang Liang on Sün: *Ai kung* phr. c., this because the (spurious) *K'ung ts'i kia yü* has d. Thus: "Confucius angrily said: why are you like that?" — Reject. There is obviously a parallelism in the use of *j a n* as an adverbial suffix. c. = "Confucius (angry-wise:) angrily said: you (behave commanding-wise:) are very commanding". The compiler of the *Kia yü* has misunderstood that.

358. *h e n g* (*g'äng a*) 'beam of a balance, cross-piece' is defined by Cheng Hüan as equal to *h u n g* (*g'wäng b*) 'crosswise, transversal' in Ode 138 phr. c., and in many other texts various authors have stated that in this sense a. is Kt for b. — It is better to say that *g'äng* and *g'wäng* are closely cognate, being two aspects of the same word stem. It is hard to decide which alternative is the best in a certain context. Thus, in phr. c. "a cross-beam door (-lintel)" Lu Tê-ming reads a. Anc. *yäng* (Arch. *g'äng*) but mentions that Shen Chung had read it *ywäng* (Arch. *g'wäng*), as standing for b. On the other hand, in Ode 101 phr. d.: "You make (transversal:) east-west and north-south (furrows) on the acre" Lu says: "a. is read *ywäng* (Arch. *g'wäng*) (the Ts'i version had b.) but could also be read *yäng* (Arch. *g'äng*)".

359. *h e n g* (*g'äng a*) 'beam of a balance, cross-piece' in the phr. *y a* (*y ü*) *h e n g* b. in Shu: *Lo kao*, Kt for *p' a n g* (*b'wäng c*) in the binome *p' a n g - w u* d. 'cross-wise' says T'ang Lan: *Y ü - h e n g* b. would be an inversion of *p' a n g - w u*: "in confusion". — Reject. Phonetically unacceptable. The binome d. is unknown in pre-Han texts. b. = "The Directing Arbiter" (a honorific term for Chou Kung, see Gloss 1774).

360. *h i* (*chia a*) 'to sport'. Hü Shen defines this word as originally meaning 'a signal flag' in the army (only Han-time examples) and further as meaning b. 'weapon', but this latter is not confirmed by texts, and since T'ai p'ing yü lan quotes c. 'to sport, to jest' inst. of b., the latter is surely but a corruption of c. When Chu Tsün-sheng says that when a. means 'to jest' it is Kt for *h ü e* (*xiok d*) 'to jest, to ridicule', he is wide of the mark. *chia a*. must have had a primary sense of a 'combat' (hence Rad. 62) and hence all kinds of 'tussle, sport, jest'. Chu may have been influenced by the fact that Shu: *Si po k'an li* phr. e.: "The King is dissolute and sporting" of the orthodox text is a corruption of an original text having f.: "The King is dissolute and tyrannic", see Gloss 1494.

361. *h i* (*chia a*) 'to sport' Kt for *h u* (*xuo b*) 'an interjection' says Lu Tê-ming on Ode 269 phr. c.: "Oh", as it is quoted in Li: *Ta hüe*; this because the orthodox Mao version reads d. — Reject. Lu mentions that the earlier commentators Sū Miao and Fan Sūan both read a. *h i* (*chia*), which is evidently right. *chia* 'to sport' is Kt for a homophonous interjection.

a 蒿 b 郊 c 近郊之地 351 a 好 b 旭 c 驕人好好 d 憐 e 愴 352 a 好 b 孝 c 用好宗廟享夙夕好朋友 d 宴好 353 a 好 b 孔 c 好三寸 d 狄 e 甚 f 其事好還 354 a 好 b 小 c 我有好爵 d 玉 355 a 耗 b 消 356 a 浩 b 傲 c 夫儒浩居而自順者 d 倨傲自順 357 a 號 b 胡

362. *hi* (*χia a*) 'to sport' Kt for *hü* (*χiwo b*) 'self-asserting, boastful' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Tao Chī phr. c.: "They do not because of their wealth be boastful towards others". — Reject. c. = "They do not because of their wealth make a mock of others".

363. *hi* (*χia a*) 'sacrificial animal' Kt for *so* (*sá b*) says Cheng Hüan on Li: Ming t'ang wei phr. c., explaining that *b.* is the same as *so* (*sá d*) 'to dance', dancing birds being the decoration on the *hi-tsun e.* vessels; this expl. is based on Mao Heng, gloss on Ode 208, where he says that *hi-tsun e.* had a "dancing décor" (f., by Cheng taken to mean g.). Wang Yin-chī, on the other hand, basing himself on a gloss by Kao Yu on Huai: Ch'u chen hün, says that *b.* (read *sá*, as Cheng wants it, foll. by Lu tê-ming) is Kt for *shu* (*sjo h*) 'to engrave, carve (a décor)', thus *e.* being equal to *shu tsun* = "a carved vessel". — This is all phonetically impossible; in fact, Wang Su on Ode 208 read *a.* *hi* (*χia*). The exact nature of a *hi tsun* "animal-decorated Tsun" is, of course, impossible to define. — There is a curious amplification of all these speculations in regard to the common phr. *hien tsun* (*i*). On Chouli: Si tsun yi phr. *i.* Cheng Chung says that *hien* (*χiǎn j*) 'to offer, to present' should be read *hi* (*χia a*). Cheng Hüan accepts this identification of characters but he says that *j.* for *a.* is due to a dialectal pronunciation in Ts'i (Shantung); and here again, consequently, Cheng Hüan read *j.* as well *so* (*sá*), followed by his faithful Lu Tê-ming. — Reject. *hien-tsun i.* evidently simply means "offering Tsun".

The crazy rigmarole recorded above is further elaborated when on Chouli: Si tsun yi phr. *k.* Cheng Hüan says that *hien* (*χiǎn j*), again pronounced *so* (*sá*, "read like l") means 'to clarify wine'; and when on Yili: Ta shê yi phr. *m.* he says that this means *n.* 'clarified wine' (Lu Tê-ming: "read *sá*"), — All this is obviously impossible. *k.* means "the (juicy:) half-clear offering (wine)"; *m.* = "the offering wine".

Again, on Chouli: Si tsun yi phr. *o.* Cheng Chung takes *hien* (*χiǎn j*) as Kt for *yi* (*ngia p*), *o.* = "a ceremonial cup"; this probably because *a.* and *p.* have the same Phonetic. Further, when Shu: Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi) has the phr. *li hien* (*q*) in the orthodox version but *li yi* (*r*) in the Kin-wen version, Wang Nien-sun and various other scholars conclude that *χiǎn j.* and *ngia p.* "anciently had the same sound" and that *j.* is Kt for *p.* There are similar binominal couples: in Shu: Ta kao phr. *min hien s.* is in Shang shu ta chuan cited *min yi t.* — The different versions: *li hien: li yi* and *min hien: min yi* represent

c 孔子蹴然曰君號然也 d 胡然 358 a 衡 b 橫 c 衡門 d 衡從其故  
359 a 衡 b 近御衡 c 旁 d 旁午 360 a 戲 b 兵 c 弄 d 諠 e 惟王淫  
戲 f 惟王淫虐 361 a 戲 b 呼 c 於戲 d 於乎 (= 呼) 362 a 戲 b 謂 c 不  
以富戲人 363 a 犧 b 沙 c 犧象 d 婆 e 犧尊 f 有沙飾 g 有婆飾 h  
疏 i 獻尊 j 獻 k 汁獻 l 莎 m 獻酒 n 沙酒 o 獻酌 p 儀 q 黎獻 r 黎

different text traditions, and *hien* is not Kt for *yi*, nor *yi* for *hien*, see Gloss 1327. *o.* = “the offering cup”; *q.* = “the numerous (displayed, conspicuous:) eminent ones”; *r.* = “the numerous dignified ones” etc. (Chu Tsün-sheng’s proposal that *hien j.* here is Kt for *hien* (*g’ian*) ‘wise’ is unnecessary).

One step further in eccentricity is taken by Kuo Mo-jo (Ta hi p. 4 a) when he proposes that the phr. *min hien s.* is equal to a phr. *jen li u.* in some bronze inscriptions: *li* (*ghiek v*) ‘ritual vessel’ would be Kt for *yi* (*ngia p*) and *hien j.* is simply an error made by Han scholars who confused *v.* with *j.* (!).

On the other hand, Wang K’ai-yün on Shu: Wei tsī phr. *x.* says that *hi* (*chia a*) is Kt for *hien* (*chiän j*). — Reject. *x.* here more precisely means ‘one-coloured sacrificial animal’, see Gloss 1508.

Finally, on Chuang: Ta tsung shī phr. *y.* Ma Sü-lun says *j.* is Kt for *hi* (*chiäg z*) ‘to rejoice’, *hi-sia o* being a binome. — Reject. *y.* = “a displayed smile”.

364. *hi* (*chiäg a*) ‘an interjection’ Kt for *hin* (*chiäm b*) ‘elated, to enjoy’, here ‘to cause to enjoy’ (sc. the sacrifice, said of the Spirits) says Ma Juei-ch’ên on Ode 27 phr. *c.*: “Stimulating (the Spirits) was Ch’eng Wang”. — Reject. *Yi-hi* is a binominal interjection, the two members riming (*’iäg-chiäg*). *c.* = “Oh, Ch’eng Wang...”

365. *hia o* (*chög a*) ‘filial piety’ Kt. for *hiu* (*chiög b*) ‘to rest, blessing, grace’ etc. says Kuo Mo-jo on the Shao Yu inscr. phr. *c.*; this *Hiu* would, acc. to Kuo, be the brother of *Yi Wang*. — Reject; an arbitrary speculation; cf. paragr. 409 below.

366. *hi* (*chiäg a*) ‘bright, brightness’ Kt for *k’i* (*k’iäg b*) ‘to rise’ says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 293 phr. *c.*: “Then it greatly rose”. This was probably because *Erya* has an entry *d.*: *hi a.* = *hing* ‘to lift’. — Unnecessary. For *hi a.* and its etym. connections see Gloss 1229. *c.* = “And then it became greatly bright” (see Gloss 1136).

367. *hi* (*g’iweg a*) ‘swallow’ (Shuowen; no text) Kt for *ku ei* (*k’iwëg b*) ‘compass, circle’ says Tuan Yü-ts’ai on Li: K’ü li phr. *c.*: “Standing (sc. in the chariot) one looks (a distance of) five (wheel) circles”; this because Cheng Hün says: “*hi a.* is equal to (*d*) *ku ei* (*b*)”. — Cheng’s idea was probably only an expl. by sound similarity (*sheng hün*), not a Kt. Lu Tê-ming still reads Anc. *yiwei* (= Arch. *g’iweg*), taking *a.* to be Kt for a homophonous *g’iweg*), ‘distance equal to the circumference of a wheel’. This may simply be cognate to *k’iwëg b*.

368. *hi* (*chiär a*) ‘first light of the sun. Kt for *hin* (*chiän b*) ‘dawn’ says Ma Juei-ch’ên on Ode 100 phr. *c.* Chu Tsün-sheng, on the other hand, says *a.* Kt for *k’ a i* (*k’är d*) ‘to open up’. — Both unnecessary. No reason for doubting the ancient tradition (as recorded by Lu Tê-ming) that the word *a.* existed in its own right read *chiär*. *c.* = “The East is not yet showing the light of the dawn”.

369. *hi* (*chiäd, chiäd a*) ‘to plaster’ Kt for *k’i* (*k’iät b*), but not in the ordinary sense of this word but meaning ‘to give’ (since Kuang-ya 3 has an entry *c.*) says Wen Yi-to (Shī king sin yi) on Ode 20 phr. *d.*: “In a slanting basket I give them”. — Reject. There is no text support whatever for *b.* meaning ‘to give’. All from Mao Heng there is a safe tradition that *a.* was Kt for a homophonous word (so Lu Tê-ming) meaning *f.*: *d.* = “In a slanting basket I take (collect) them”.

370. *h i* (*χiəd*, *χied* a) 'to plaster' Kt for *a i* (*əd* b) 'to love' says Ma Juei-ch'en on Ode 35 phr. c.: "Only me did you come and love". — Reject. *a*. is here Kt for a homophonous word *h i* (*χiəd*) 'to rest', by Hū Shen wr. d. (*χiəd*); it is fundamentally id. with *h i* (*χiəd* e) 'to sigh' (ex. in Ode 153), hence 'to draw a deep breath, take breath, to rest', quite analogous to *s i* f. which has this double meaning. c. = "Only in me did you come and find rest", see Gloss 102.

371. *h i* (*χiət* a) 'water drying up' Kt for *k i* (*kɨər* b) 'near, it is near to, there are chances that' says Ma Juei-ch'en on Ode 253 phr. c.: "There are chances that they will have a little rest"; this because Cheng Hūan defines *a*. as meaning *b*. — Reject. *a*. is Kt for the homophonous d. 'to come to', see in detail Gloss 915. c. = "It has come to (the point that) they should have a little rest".

372. *h i* (*χiəp* a) 'to unite' Kt for *h i a* (*g'ap* b) 'to treat contemptuously' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Shu: P'an Keng phr. c. (Kin-wen version): "Do not treat contemptuously and insult the grown-up men". P'i Si-juei better: *a*. Kt for *h i e* (*χiäp* d) 'to constrain': "Do not constrain and insult . . .", see Gloss 1438.

Again, *h i* (*χiəp* e) 'to contract' (etym. same word as *a*. above) Kt for *h i e* (*χiäp* d) says Chu Tsün-sheng on Chuang: Shan mu phr. f.: "He shouts (in order to) constrain (correct) him", which does not explain the *ch a n g*. Wang Sien-k'ien better: "He shouts, now opening, now (contracting:) shutting (the mouth)".

373. *h i* (*χiəp* a) 'to unite' Kt for *h i e* (*g'iap* b) 'to grasp, to embrace' says Yü Sing-wu on Ode 296 phr. c., which would be equal to d.: "The height far away embraced the River". — Reject. *a*. is Kt for *h i* (*χiəp* e) 'rushing water': c. = "They went along the roaring River", see Gloss 1143, where several other attempts at interpr. have been discussed.

374. *h i* (*χiəp* a) 'to unite' Kt for *k i e* (*kɨäp* b) 'to constrain, to force' says Ma Sü-lun on Lao 36 phr. c.: "If you want to force (something) you must first let it expand". — Reject. c.: "If you want to contract (something) you must first let it expand".

375. *h i a* (*g'd* a) 'summer' Kt for *y a* (*ngä* b) 'shed' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 135 phr. c. *h i a* - *w u* (*y a* - *w u*) would then be a binome "house". — Unlikely. *y a* (*ngä*) is only known from Chouli: Yü shī, there referring to a 'horse-

儀 s 民獻 t 民儀 u 人焉 v 焉 x 犧牲 y 獻笑 z 傳 364a 嘻 b 歌 c  
噫噫成王 365a 孝 b 休 c 休王 366a 熙 b 起 c 時純熙 芳 d 熙興  
也 367a 嵩 b 規 c 立視五嵩 d 猶 368a 晞 b 昕 c 東方未晞 d 聞  
369a 壺 b 乞 c 乞予也 d 頃筐壺之 e 勺 f 取 370a 壺 b 愛 c 伊余  
來壺 d 咽 e 恤 f 息 371a 汔 b 幾 c 汔可小康 d 迄 372a 翕 b 狎  
c 女毋翕侮成人 d 脅 e 歛 f 則呼張歛之 373a 翕 b 挾 c 允猶翕  
河 d 峻遙挾河 e 渝 374a 翕 b 劫 c 將欲翕(歛)之必周張之 375a

shed'. *g'd a.* is Kt for a homophonous *h i a (g'd)* 'great' acc. to Mao Heng on Shī, Kao Yu on Huai and Wang Yi on Ch'u ts'i. The meaning 'great' is confirmed in Tso: Siang 29 phr. d.

376. *h i a (g'd a)* 'summer' (also used as Kt for *h i a / g'd* 'Chinese' in the sense of the Chinese-speaking people) Kt for *y a (ng'd b)* 'correct and elegant, refined, cultured' says Yü Yüe on Mo: T'ien chī, *h i a* phr. c.: "the principles of the Ta-ya" (section in the Shī), immediately followed by a quotation from an ode in the Ta-ya. On the other hand, Wang Yin-chī (Tsa chī) says *y a (ng'd b)* is Kt for *h i a (g'd a.)* in Sün: Jung ju phr. d.: (The man from Yüe thrives in Yüe, the man from Ch'u thrives in Ch'u), "the superior man (noble-man, educated man) thrives in the Hia regions". — Again, there is in Lyü: Shu er the phr. e. Liu Pao-nan fully explains that it is a question of cultured high-Chinese speech, as against dialects: "What the Master spoke of in (elegant, cultured =) high-Chinese language was the Shī, the Shu, the observation of the Rites — all of them in the high-Chinese language". — When *g'd* 'summer', used as Kt for *g'd* 'great' (Shī, Tso), is Kt for *g'd* 'Chinese' (as against Barbarians), the idea is undoubtedly the same: "the great, the grand, the superior ones"; and the high-Chinese language (as against dialects and Barbaric tongues) was called *ng'd b* '(grand:) stately, noble, cultured', *g'd* and *ng'd* being cognate words. Hence they were felt to be two aspects of the same word stem and could easily serve for each other, as in the phrases discussed.

377. *h i a (g'd a)* 'summer' Kt for *k i a (k'd b)* 'Catalpa' say K'ung Ying-ta and Lu Tê-ming on Li: Hüe ki phr. c.: "The Catalpa stick and the thorny whip". — Plausible.

378. *h i a (g'd a)* 'summer; great' Kt for *k i a (k'd b)* in the sense of c., 'slow, indulgent' says Yü Yüe on Ode 241 phr. d. It is difficult to see how he construes the line. It is fully discussed in Gloss 841. d.: (Your virtue:) "In spite of your *ch ang* prominent *h i a* greatness, it is not changed".

379. *h i a (g'd a)* 'summer' Kt for *h u a (g'w'd b)* 'flower, flowery' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Shu: Yü kung phr. c. "(Flowery:) variegated pheasants". — We should rather say that *g'd* is a variation of the same stem as *g'w'd*, see Gloss 1359.

380. *h i a (g'd a)* 'distant' and *h i a (g'd b)* 'flaw' Kt for *h o (g'd c)* 'how, why' says Chu Hi on Ode 228 phr. d.: "Why should I not tell it". — Several later authors have pointed out that *a.* or *b.* is Kt, not for *c.* but for *h u (g'o e.)* 'how, why' etc.

When Ma Juei-ch'en proposes that in phr. f. in Ode 39 *g'd a.* is Kt for *w u (m'wo g)* 'not have', he is wide of the mark, see Gloss 111. f. = "(It is not far from there being harm =) there is sure to be harm".

381. *h i a (g'd a)* 'flaw' Kt for *ng'o (d'k b)* 'bad' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 160 phr. c.: "His reputation has nothing bad". — Reject. *c.* = "His reputation has no flaw".

382. *h i a (g'ap a)* 'to be familiar with' Kt for *t i e (d'i'ap b)* 'to repeat' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Tso: Siang 27 phr. c.: "Tsin and Ch'u (repeatingly, revertingly:) alternately presided at the covenants of the princes". — Reject. This meaning of the char. *b.* is quite late, unknown in ancient texts. *g'ap a.* is Kt for a homophonous *g'ap* 'to alternate'.

383. *hia* (*g'ep* a) 'to imbue' Kt for *hie* (*g'iap* b) 'to unite, in harmony' etc. says Chu K'i-feng (Ts'i t'ung) on Ode 192 phr. c.: "They assemble their neighbours", which in Tso: Siang 29 is quoted d. Similarly Ode 262 phr. e.: "He unites these [states of] the four quarters", which in Li: K'ung ts'i hien kü is quoted f. — It is true that *hia* (*g'ep* a) 'to imbue' is used as a Kt but then not for *g'iap* b. but for a homophonous word *hia* (*g'ep*) 'to unite'. No tradition has it that a. was ever pronounced like b. Lu Tê-ming mentions the binome *hia* - *pi* in c. in order to give the reading of *pi* but he says nothing of a., which shows that he read it in the ordinary way *hia* (Arch. *g'ep*). In fact, *g'ep* a. and *g'iap* b. are only two aspects of a large word stem, to which also belong words like *ho* (*g'ap* g), *ho* (*g'ap* h), *hi* (*xiap* i) and several more, all with a fundamental sense of 'to unite, to close'. c. and d., as well as e. and f., represent different text traditions with one or other of the cognate words.

384. *hia ng* (*xiang* a) 'to face, to turn towards' etc. Kt for *na ng* (*nang* b) 'formerly' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Shan mu phr. c.: "A while ago he was not angry". — Reject. *hia ng* a. itself often has the meaning of 'formerly, recently, just now' as an extension of meaning: 'turning towards: approachingly, recently'. It was certainly never read *nang*.

385. *hia ng* (*g'ung* a) 'neck' Kt for *hun g* (*g'ung* b) 'big, fat bird' (acc. to Shuowen, no pre-Han text) says Ma Juei-ch'en on Ode 191 phr. c.: "The four stallions have big necks"; this because Mao Heng defined a. as = d. Chu Tsün-sheng says a. is Kt for *k' i un g* (*k' i ung* e) 'high and vaulted', and Wang K'ai-yün says a. is Kt for *hun g* (*g'ung* f) which sometimes means 'great' (then really loan for g). — Unnecessary. Both *hia ng* and *ling* mean 'neck' and the former is here used as a verb: c. = "The four stallions ("neck their necks" =) stretch their necks", see Gloss 523.

386. *hia o* (*xiōg* a) 'filial piety' Kt for *k' a o* (*k'ōg* b) 'dead father' says Liu Sin-yün on the Hu Ting inscr. phr. c., equal to d.: "The refined dead father". — Plausible.

387. *hia o* (*xiōg* a) 'filial piety' Kt for *p a o* (*pōg* b) 'to protect' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ta Tai li: Pao fu phr. c.: "Those who protected him, swaddled him" (*p a o*

夏<sub>6</sub>房<sub>c</sub>夏屋渠渠<sub>d</sub>夫能夏則大 376<sub>a</sub>夏<sub>6</sub>雅<sub>c</sub>大夏之道<sub>d</sub>君子安雅<sub>e</sub>子所雅言詩書執禮皆雅言也 377<sub>a</sub>夏<sub>6</sub>櫓<sub>c</sub>夏楚 378<sub>a</sub>夏<sub>6</sub>假<sub>c</sub>寬假<sub>d</sub>不長夏以草 379<sub>a</sub>夏<sub>6</sub>華<sub>c</sub>夏翟 380<sub>a</sub>遐<sub>6</sub>瑕<sub>c</sub>何<sub>d</sub>遐(瑕)不謂<sub>e</sub>胡<sub>f</sub>不遐有害<sub>g</sub>無 381<sub>a</sub>瑕<sub>6</sub>惡<sub>c</sub>德音不瑕 382<sub>a</sub>狎<sub>6</sub>疊<sub>c</sub>晉楚狎主諸侯之盟 383<sub>a</sub>洽<sub>6</sub>協<sub>c</sub>洽比其鄰<sub>d</sub>協比其鄰<sub>e</sub>洽比四國<sub>f</sub>協比四國<sub>g</sub>合<sub>h</sub>盍<sub>i</sub>翕 384<sub>a</sub>向<sub>6</sub>曩<sub>c</sub>向也不怒 385<sub>a</sub>項<sub>6</sub>堆<sub>c</sub>四牡項領<sub>d</sub>大<sub>e</sub>穹<sub>f</sub>鴻<sub>g</sub>洪 386



b. fundamentally meaning 'to wrap, to swaddle' id. with d.). — Reject. c. = (When Ch'eng Wang was born:) "good (women) nursed him, filially pious (women) swaddled him". The parallelism *j e n : h i a o* makes the meaning obvious.

388. *h i a o* (*g'ōg a*) 'to imitate, to hand over' etc. Kt for *k ü e* (*k'ōk b*) 'to apprehend, get insight' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Sün: Cheng lun phr. c.: "From this (i.e. these facts) we realize it"; this because Yang Liang defined a. by d. — Unlikely. It would be more natural to say that a. stands for *k i a o* (*k'ōg e*) 'to examine', within the same Hs series: "From this we are able to (scrutinize:) verify it". But even that is not necessary, for *h i a o* a. itself, as an extension from the meaning 'to hand over', sometimes means 'to announce', as in Li: *k'ü li* phr. f.: "to announce that the chariot is yoked", and our phr. c. thus may mean: "From this we can (hand over, announce:) state it" (affirm that it is like that).

389. *h i a o* (*χōg a*) 'to roar' Kt for *k' i a o* (*k'ōg b*) 'to beat' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Lü: Pi ki phr. c.: "He struck his head with the oar". — Plausible.

390. *h i e* (*g'iap a*) (in Pekinese also read *k i a* through confusion with b) Kt for *t s a* (*tsap c*) 'a round, all round' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 236 phr. d.: "He was (caused not to =) not permitted to (encompass:) embrace the [states of] the four quarters". — Reject. Lu Tê-ming here reads a. Anc. *tsiep*. In the same sense of 'all round' we have it in Chouli: Ta sī-ma phr. e. (Lu again the same reading). In Tso: Ch'eng 9 phr. f. the Radical is varied (evidently the primary texts had no Rad. at all, and later on Rs. 64 and 85 were added by Han scholars); Lu again the same reading. (Sü Miao here read f. *tsap*, which shows that he already held the same idea as Chu Tsün-sheng). — *g'iap a*. cannot be a phonetic Kt for an Anc. *tsiep*, but it is a synonym Kt: *g'iap a*. 'to hold' serving for a word meaning 'to hold, to embrace, all round'; whether this word, Anc. *tsiep*, was Arch. *tsiap* or *tsiap* is difficult to say, preferably the latter since it probably was cognate to *tsap b*.

Again, on Yili: Hiang shê li phr. g.: "he grasps four arrows" Lu Tê-ming reads a. in its ordinary way (Anc. *γiep* = Arch. *g'iap*), but he mentions that Liu Tao-pa had read it *tsiep* ("embrace into one bundle"); here Chu Tsün-sheng says that *g'iap a*. is Kt for *c h' a* (*ts'āp h*) 'to insert'; an arbitrary guess, to be rejected.

391. *h i e* (*χiāp a*) 'sides (of the body), to squeeze, constrain' Kt for *h i* (*χiāp b*) 'to draw in' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Meng: T'eng Wen Kung, *hia* phr. c.: "to draw in the shoulders". — Unnecessary. c. = "to squeeze together the shoulders".

392. *h i e n* (*g'ān a*) 'bar' etc. Kt for *k u a n* (*kuan b*) 'familiar with, used to' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 252 phr. c.: "They (sc. the horses) are well-trained and swift". — Reject. *h i e n* (*g'ān a*) 'bar' is used for various homophonous words: for *g'ān* 'to train, well-trained, refined' (Shī); for *g'ān* 'great' (Shī); for *g'ān* 'to move leisurely' (Shī). No reason for believing that in phr. c. it was ever read *kuan*.

393. *h i e n* (*g'en a*) 'obstacle, limit, term' Kt for *k' ü a n* (*k'iwān b*) 'bond, deed' says Yüan Yüan on the Hu Ting inscr. phr. c.: "With a deed he laid a lawsuit against Hing-shu". — Reject. Later authors, e.g. Kuo Mo-jo, take a. to be a *nomen proprium*. It is possible, however, that a. has its ordinary value: "With a view to a limit" = "In order to get a term fixed (sc. for the settling of the dispute) he laid

a lawsuit against Hing-shu". Followed shortly after by the phr. d.: "With the offering of horses and bundles of silk I (make a term =) ask for a term (for settling the dispute)".

394. *hien* (xiǎn a) 'law' etc. Kt for *hien* (xian b) 'illustrious' in Ode 249, where Li: Chung yung quotes c., whereas the Mao version has d.: "Illustrious is his good virtue"; a. being Kt for b. acc. to Cheng Hsüan, Lu Tê-ming, Tuan Yü-ts'ai and others. — Possible, but not conclusive. The c. version might mean: "(Law-giving, model-giving:) authoritative is his good virtue", and the two versions c. and d. may represent different text traditions.

Similarly, in Kyü: Ch'u, hia phr. e. Yü Yüe says a. is Kt for b.: "The tortoise is capable of manifesting what is good and what is bad". Wei Chao had simply given a. its ordinary meaning: a. = f.: "The tortoise is capable of (laying down the law, the norm for =) deciding what is good and what is bad".

But matters are, in fact, even more complicated. *hien* (xiǎn a) 'law' is undoubtedly sometimes used as Kt for a homophonous word xiǎn written g. or h. and meaning 'to lift'; safe text examples of this word are given in Gloss 924. Thus, for instance, we have Ode 254 phr. i.: "Do not be so (uplifted:) elated" (here Tuan Yü-ts'ai and Ma Juei-ch'en had taken a. to be Kt for *hin* [xiǎn j] but Ch'en Huan correctly: a. Kt for h): uplifted = elated, glad, cf. *hing* k. which means 'to lift' and 'glad'. In Chinese, however, the meaning of 'to lift' is often extended to mean 'to display' (e.g. the word l.). When in Chouli Siao sī k'ou phr. m. Cheng Hsüan defines a. by n. 'to display, promulgate': "He everywhere announces in the four quarters and (displays:) promulgates the punishments and prohibitions", he evidently does not take a. 'law' in its ordinary sense (which would give: "he makes norms for, i.e. regulates the punishments and prohibitions") but as Kt for this xiǎn g., h., 'to lift up, to display': In this he is corroborated by the parallelism with the preceding words. When Chu Tsün-sheng on Chouli: Pu hien phr. o. says xiǎn a. is Kt for *süan* (siwan p) 'to spread, proclaim', he is wide of the mark.

To sum up: we may try to carry through one Kt only of our a., applicable in all the phrases in question: phr. c. (the Chung yung version of the Ode): "(Lifted up, displayed:) manifest is his illustrious virtue"; phr. e.: "The tortoise is capable of

a 孝 b 考 c 文孝 d 文考 387 a 孝 b 保 c (仁者養之)孝者紹之 d 祧  
388 a 敷 b 覺 c 由此敷之 d 明 e 校 f 效駕 389 a 號 b 敲 c 以桴號  
其頭 390 a 挾 b 夾 c 帀 d 使不挾四方 e 挾日 f 挾辰 g 挾乘矢 h  
插 391 a 脅 b 翕 c 翳肩 392 a 閑 b 攢 c 既閑且馳 393 a 限 b 券  
c 以限訟于邢叔 d 用匹馬束絲限 394 a 憲 b 顯 c 憲憲令德 d 顯  
顯令德 e 龜足以憲臧否 f 法 g 軒 h 掀 i 無然憲憲 j 欣 k 興 l 舉  
m 宣布于四方憲刑禁 n 表 c 憲邦之刑禁 p 宣 q 契 395 a 軒 b 胖

(displaying:) manifesting what is good and what is bad"; phr. i.: "Do not be so (uplifted:) elated; phr. m.: "He (lifts up, displays:) promulgates the punishments and prohibitions". — It may be added that when *hien* (*χῑǎn* a) means 'law', Chang Ping-lin (Siao hūe ta wen) thinks that it is Kt for and should be read as *k' i* (*k'iad* q) 'script notches', which is exceedingly improbable.

395. *hien* (*χῑǎn* a) 'carriage with upward-rising pole, rising tall, to lift' Kt for *p' a n* (*p'wǎn* b) 'meat slices from sides of spine' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: Nei tsê phr. c.: (of deer, wild pigs and fallow-deer)" of them all one had (for serving) slices from the sides"; this because Cheng Hūan records a text variant d. — Reject. Cheng says that *hien* (*χῑǎn* a., even tone) is Kt for *hien* (*χῑǎn* e, falling tone) but not in its ordinary sense of 'law' etc. but of 'thin slice of meat': "of them all one had thin slices". Yet there are no text parallels whatever to either *χῑǎn* a., even tone, or *χῑǎn* e., falling tone, with this meaning, and Cheng may here — as often — have given his imagination free reins. Since the Phonetic in the char. a.: f. is graphically similar to the Phon. in b.: g., it seems probable that the char. a. here (and in several similar Li passages) is a mistake for *p' a n* b., due to the graphic similarity in the older script. The word *p' a n* b. defined either as *p' a n t' i* 'half the body' or 'slices from the sides' is well known from many texts.

396. *hien* (*χῑǎn* a) 'to offer, to present' etc. Kt for *hien* (*g'ien* b) 'wise, worthy' says Chu Tsün-sheng (Cheng Hūan had defined a. as = b.) on Shu: Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi) phr. c.: "All the worthy ones". — Phonetically unacceptable. Tuan Yü-ts'ai and Wang Nien-sun prefer to say that *χῑǎn* a. was Kt for *y i* (*ngia* d) for reasons discussed under the word *hi e*. paragr. 363 above. These theories have been refuted in detail in Gloss 1327. *hien* a. means 'to present, to bring forward, to exhibit, to display', and c. means: "The numerous (displayed, conspicuous:) eminent ones".

397. *hien* (*χῑǎn* a) 'to offer, to present' etc. Kt for *n o* (*nár* b) 'to expel demons' says Yü Yüe on Li: Kiao t'ê sheng phr. c.: "The villagers expel the demons"; this because Cheng Hūan says a text variant has b., and, acc. to Yü, a. and b. "were closely similar in sound". — Reject. The two versions represent different text traditions. d. = "The villagers bring offerings".

398. *hien* (*g'em* a) 'all' Kt for *h a n* (*g'em* b) 'envelop' says Cheng Hūan on Chouli: Yi k' i shī phr. c.: "He furnishes the holder (case) for the staff". — Possible. Yet there is the possibility that a. is but a short-form for a word d., in Shuowen defined as = 'box', in T'ang yün read so as to indicate Arch. *kem* and *g'em* and there defined as 'cup' (i.e. 'container'). This word seems to have influenced Lu Tê-ming, for he says that in Cheng Hūan's gloss the b. should not be read in its ordinary way but like a., i.e. Arch. *g'em*. The word d. is earliest known from Shī ki: T'ien kuan shu phr. e.: "It can be a holder for swords" (here, on the other hand, Su Lin would read d. *g'em* as Kt for b). *g'em*, *kem*, *g'em* are, of course, variants of one and same word stem.

399. *hien* (*g'em* a) 'all' Kt for *h a n* (*g'em* b) 'to contain, to hold' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Tso: Chao 21 phr. c.: "If [the sound] is too slight, it will not be held (by the heart)". — Unnecessary. c. might mean: "If [the sound] is too slight, it is

not (complete:) sufficient (sc. for filling the heart)". But though this makes sense, it is not conclusive. There exists another text version d.: "If it is too slight, it does not move (the heart)", which is preferable. a. is then a short-form for d.

400. *h i e n* (*g'em a*) 'all' Kt for *h i e n* (*g'em b*) 'to cut off' says Yü Yüe on Shu: Kün Shī phr. c.: "They (cut off:) broke and killed their enemies". — Yü has found the word b. (unknown from texts) in Shuowen, where it is said that "some read it like a., others read it like d.", and it appears that Shuowen's b. is the same graph as e. (*tsiam*) and that the "reading like a." must be a mistake. For the Shu line c. ("They killed all his enemies") see Gloss 1883. Chu Tsün-sheng proposes that, in phr. c., a. is Kt for *k' a n* (*k'am f*) 'to kill' (same as g.), which would be more reasonable than Yü's idea; but it is unnecessary, a. 'all' making good sense.

Again, on Li: Yüe ki phr. h. Yü Yüe says that i. should be a. in the sense of 'to cut off' (= b., as above): "They cut off (in him) the expansive spirit". — Reject. It is more natural to take i. as standing for j. 'to reduce' (within the same Hs series): h. = "They reduce (in him) the expansive spirit". Moreover there exists a text variant which instead of h. has k.: "They trample down" (see Ch'en Hao), so the whole passage is uncertain.

401. *h i e n* (*g'em a*) 'all' Kt for *t' a n* (*d'am b*) 'to extend' says Wu K'ai-sheng on Shu: Tsiu kao phr. c.: "From Ch'eng T'ang extending to Ti Yi". — Reject. a. has its ordinary meaning: c. = "From Ch'eng T'ang all to Ti Yi".

402. *h i e n* (*χliam, χliām a*) 'danger' Kt for *h i e n* (*g'em b*) 'to throw down' says Wu K'ai-sheng (Shang shu fu lu) and Sun Yi-jang on Yi Chou shu: Chai kung phr. c.: "I likewise did not throw my sovereign into difficulties", thus reading *p u* 'not' inst. of *p' e i* 'grandly'. — K'ung Ch'ao (Tsin dynasty) retained the *p' e i*: "I likewise together with my sovereign was greatly endangered in difficulties". Chu Yu-tseng, on the contrary, took *p i* to stand for d. (as often) 'to escape, to evade', and he says *h i e n* a. = e. 'far away, to go away from', *p i - h i e n* thus forming a binome: "I likewise greatly with my sovereign kept away from difficulties". Yet a. = e. has no safe text parallels. Wu and Sun refer to the famous Mao Kung Ting inscr. phr. f.: "Do not with your sovereign fall down into difficulties" as a parallel to phr. c., which certainly is tempting. But *χliam* for *g'em* is phonetically weak, and the old interpr. of K'ung's is therefore safest.

403. *h i e n*, *h a n* (*g'lam, g'lām a*), 'railing, cage' Kt for *k i e n* (*kien b*) 'hard, solid' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Chouli: Ts'ao jen phr. c.: "For strong and solid [soil]

c 皆有軒 d 皆有胖 e 憲 f 干 g 半 396a 獻 b 賢 c 黎獻 d 儀 e 犧  
397a 獻 b 儺 c 鄉人儺 d 鄉人獻 398a 咸 b 函 c 共其杖咸 d 械 e  
可械劍 399a 咸 b 合 e 寃則不咸 d 寃則不感 400a 咸 b 伐 c 咸劉  
厥敵 d 織 e 戔 f 錢 g 戡 h 感條暢之氣 i 感 j 減 k 蹇條暢之氣 401  
a 咸 b 覃 c 自成湯咸至於帝乙 402a 險 b 陷 c 我亦維丕(不)以我

one uses [extract of] hemp"; this because Cheng Hūan defined k' i a n g h i e n as = d. — Reject. Lu Tê-ming records a variant h i e n (g'lam e) 'hard soil', a word that occurs in Kuan: Ti yün; a. is obviously = e.

404. h i n (χiən a) 'to rejoice' Kt for h i (χiæg b) 'to shine, warm' says Cheng Hūan on Li: Yüe ki phr. c.: "Heaven and Earth warmly unite". — Reject. It is true that Yü Yüe as a support adduces the name of a prince called H i n - s h i d. in Tso but H i - s h i in Kung-yang, but, as said in our introduction, the personal names in the ancient texts are varied so strongly as to give poor *points d'appui*. a. here should have its ordinary meaning: c. = "Heaven and Earth rejoicingly unite".

405. h i n (χiən a) 'to rejoice' Kt for h i (χiær b) 'to watch, to look out for' says Wang Yin-chi (Tsa chi) followed by Sun Yi-jang on Mo: Keng chu phr. c.: (In the building of a wall, those who can fill in earth do the filling)" those who can watch do the watching"; this because of a similar passage in Lü: Pu k'ü, which has b. where our text here has a. This is, of course, in no way conclusive. Pi Yüan took a. as Kt for h i e n (χiän d) 'to lift': "those who can lift do the lifting". This is better since a. for d. is a Kt within the same Hs series.

406. h i n (χiən a) 'to smear with blood' Kt for h ü n (χiüwän b) 'perfume, to fumigate' says Cheng Hūan on Chouli: Nü wu phr. c.: "They purify (expel noxious influences) and (bathe:) sprinkle with aromatic [herbs]". — Possible, all the more since there are text variants a/b in several early texts. Yet a parallel in Lü: Pen wei phr. d. speaks against a Kt here: (When T'ang obtained Yi Yin) "he purified him in the temple and smeared him with [the blood of] a sacrificial pig". The ritual f u e. purifying and the h i n a. smearing is evidently the same in both texts. Thus c.: "(The sorceresses) for the [rite of] purifying (i.e. expelling of noxious influences) smear themselves with blood and bathe".

Again, in Kyü: Ts'i yü phr. f., Wei Chao says a. is Kt for b.: (When Huan Kung obtained Kuan Chung) "they thrice perfumed him and thrice bathed him". But here again it is the same kind of rite as in Lü d. above: "they thrice smeared him with blood and thrice bathed him". (Wei Chao records a variant reading b. inst. of a., thus χiüwän b. Kt for χiən a., and not *vice versa*).

From the narrow technical meaning 'to smear with blood' h i n a. sometimes by extension means 'to smear' generally. Thus in Chouli: Ch'ang jen phr. g.: (at the rite of washing the corpse) "he furnishes the (smearing wine =) aromatic wine for the smearing". Here, curiously enough, Cheng Hūan does not define a. as serving for b., for he says simply h. In this phr. g., Cheng Chung says that χiən a. is Kt for h u e i (χiüwær i) 'fine': "the fine aromatic wine". — An arbitrary guess.

407. h i n g (g'ien g a) 'punishment' Kt for k i n g (kieng b) 'a shortcut' says Wang Nien-sun (Shu wen) on Li: Yüe ling phr. c.: "The hundred parts of the body are at rest, in their actions there is no (short-cut =) hurry"; this since Cheng Hūan records a text variant b. inst. of a. — Unlikely. Wang means that p o k u a n is here equal to p o t ' i d. (example of this in Li: Yüe ki), and for k i n g b. = 'hasty, hurry' he adduces Sün: Siu shen phr. e., on which Yang Liang says k i n g b. = f.: "(Of all methods of nourishing the mind) there is none more direct (quick) than

to follow the proper conduct"; but here *king b.* evidently retains its fundamental sense: "there is none more (short-cutting =) direct", and Yang's definition is a free paraphrase. *Po ku an* is very common in the sense of "all the officials", but never of "all the parts of the body". We know phrases like *si ku an* "the four (important) parts of the body" (eyes, ears, nose, mouth) in Lü: Kuei sheng, and *wu ku an* "the five parts of the body (eyes, ears, nose, mouth, heart) in Sün: Cheng ming, but never *po ku an* in this sense. The traditional (Cheng Hün) interpr. is therefore safest: *c.* = "All the officials are living quiet, when they act they inflict no punishments". Thus *king b.* in the alternative text version is really *Kt* for *hing a.*

408. *hing (g'ien a)* 'shape, form' *Kt* for *hing (g'äng b)* 'to go; to practise' etc. says Yü Sing-wu on Sün: Kün tao phr. *c.*: "When the highest Tao is greatly practised". — Reject. *c.* = "When the highest Tao greatly (takes shape:) is embodied" (sc. in the government of a state).

Again, *a.* *Kt* for *b.* says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: T'ien ti phr. *d.*, which would stand for *e.*, whatever that may mean. — Reject. *d.* = "He will base himself on his own (body:) person and consider different (the shapes, the things =) his entourage" (*hing a.* = *wan wu* 'the myriad things', as often). In other words, he will see a contrast between himself and others and not realize the great identity.

409. *hiu (xióg a)* 'to rest; blessing, grace, luck' etc. *Kt* for *hao (xióg b)* but not in its ordinary sense of 'fine; to love' but meaning 'to give' says Yang Shu-ta (Kin wen shuo) on the Hiao Yu inscr. phr. *c.*: "The cowries given by the king, 20 p'êng" and several similar inscriptions. — Unnecessary. Yang adduces for *hao b.* = 'to give' Tso: Chao 7 phr. *d.*: "He gave him a [bow called] ta-küe". But both *hao b.* and *hiu a.* often have the sense of 'grace, favour', and so they have in all the cases adduced, e.g. *c.*: "The cowries given-as-a-favour by the king". *d.* = "He favoured him with a [bow called] ta-küe".

Again, on several inscr. (e.g. Hiao fu Kuei, Huai mi 1:22) having the phr. *hiu wang e.* Kuo Mo-jo takes *hiu a.* as *Kt* for *hiao (xióg)* 'filial', Hiu Wang being id. with the Chou king Hiao wang. — Arbitrary and unlikely. *e.* = "the gracious King". Cf. Ch'en Meng-kia in K'ao ku hüe pao 1955 p. 105.

410. *hiu (xióg a)* 'to rest; blessing, grace' etc. *Kt* for *hü (xiu b)* 'warm, heat' says Cheng Hün (followed by Lu Tê-ming) on Chouli: Kung jen phr. *c.*: (The root

辟險于難 *d* 避 *e* 遠 *f* 弗以乃辟 圉(=陷)于艱 403 *a* 檻 *b* 堅 *c* 彊 榮  
用菁 *d* 彊 堅 *e* 檻 404 *a* 訢(欣) *b* 嘉 *c* 天地訢合 *d* 欣時 *e* 嘉時 405  
*a* 欣 *b* 晞 *c* 能欣者欣 *d* 掀 406 *a* 覺 *b* 薰 *c* 祓除覺浴 *d* 祓之於廟  
覺以犧駘 *e* 祓 *f* 三覺三浴之 *g* 共其覺 鬯 *h* 鬯尸以鬯酒 *i* 徵 407  
*a* 刑 *b* 徑 *c* 百官靜事毋刑 *d* 百體 *e* 莫徑由禮 *f* 捷速 408 *a* 形 *b*  
行 *c* 至道大形 *d* 方且本身而異形 *e* 肖身而冀行 409 *a* 休 *b* 好 *c*

of the horn is close to the brain and) “it is warmed by the vital breath”. — Reject. *h i u* a. is often used for a homophonous word *h i u* (*xiôg*) meaning ‘fine, good’ (examples in Shī, Shu etc.), then often defined as = d. by the commentators. c. = “it is made fine by the vital breath”.

Again, on Tso: Chao 3 phr. e. Lu Tê-ming believes that a. is Kt for b., but Kia K’uei here again defines it as = d.: “(The people suffer and) will surely find them (sc. the coming rulers of the Ch’ên house) genial and fine”.

When Tuan Yü-ts’ai on Li: Yü tsao phr. f. proposes that this stands for g.: “(The warrior’s ample breadth) is full and warm”, this is very forced. f. means: “He has ample breadth, he is solid, he displays his fineness” (d.).

411. *h i u* (*xiôg* a) ‘to rest; blessing, grace’ etc. Kt for *h i* (*xiag* b.) ‘joy, to rejoice’ says Chu Tsün-sheng on Shu: Hung fan phr. c.: “joyous verifications”, and several analogous texts. — Reject. The extension of meaning of *h i u* a. ‘to rest: ease, well-being: blessing, happiness, grace’ is quite natural and well attested and there is no need for any Kt speculation. c. = “happy verifications”.

412. *h i u n g* (*xiwǎng* a) ‘elder brother’ Kt for *h u a n g* (*g’wáng* b) ‘august’ says Yü Sing-wu on Shu: Ta kao phr. c.: “the august father”. — Refuted in Gloss 1612 a. c. = ‘elder brothers and (fathers:) uncles’, i.e. the senior men of the family.

Again, on Chuang: T’ien ti phr. d. Yü Sing-wu says a. Kt for b.: “How would that be the teaching to the people [given by] the august Yao and Shun”. — Reject. The context clearly shows, through antithesis with the *t i* ‘younger brother’ in the second half of the line, that *h i u n g* a. has its ordinary meaning: “(Such an one) how would he (treat as elder brother =) be reverent towards Yao and Shun in their instruction of the people — he would (ocean-like:) full of grandeur treat them as younger brothers”.

413. *h i u n g* (*xiwǎng* a) ‘elder brother’ Kt for *h u a n g* (*xmwáng* b) ‘waste’ says Kuo Mo-jo (K’ao ku hŭe pao 1958 p. 1) on the Pao Yu inscr. phr. c.: “He (laid waste:) destroyed the six (items, here =) states”, adducing as parallel for *h u a n g* Shu: Wei Tsī phr. d.: “[Heaven] wastes the state of Yin”. e. would then be equal to *t a n* and be a mere “particle”. — Highly speculative. The preceding line runs f., and Kuo believes that *k i g*. ‘to reach’ here means ‘to seize’, a meaning which it never has. Perhaps f—c. could mean: “The King ordered Pao to (reach =) go to the five princes in the east of the Yin realm and present them six kinds of gems”. *h i u n g* a. would then be Kt for *h u a n g* (*xiwang* h) ‘to give, to confer’ (within the same Hs series). For *p’i n* cf. the Mu Kung Ting inscr. phr. i: “He gave jades, five items”. The inscriptions very often record the presenting of gifts from a king or a superior.

414. *h i u n g* (*giŭng* a) ‘male’ Kt for *j u n g* (*djông* b) ‘steam, heat’ says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ch’u ts’i: Ta chao phr. c.: “Hot and fiery, Heaven’s virtue is bright”. — Reject. *h i u n g* ‘male’ by extension often means ‘virile, strong, powerful’. c. = “Powerful and fiery, Heaven’s virtue is bright”.

415. *h i u n g* (*giŭng* a) ‘male’ Kt for *y u n g* (*djüng* b) ‘brave’ says Hung Yi-sün on Chuang: Tê ch’ung fu phr. c.: “A single brave warrior bravely breaks into

an army of 9 legions". — Reject. When the first line has the correct b., why should the second have a. as Kt for this same b.? c. = "A single brave warrior (virilely:) powerfully breaks into an army of 9 legions".

416. h o (g'wá a) 'harmony, to mix' etc. Kt for s ü a n (süwan b) 'to spread, proclaim' etc. says Wang Yin-chi on Chouli: Ta Tsai phr. c., and on Li: Yü ling phr. d.; similarly, in Shu: P'an Keng phr. e. the a. is Kt for b. says Yü Yüe. On the other hand, in Shu: P'an Keng phr. f. Sun Sing-yen says b. is Kt for a. — Reject. All this is fully refuted in Gloss 1451, *quod vide*. It is all based on a phonetic speculation of Cheng Hsüan's (2nd c. A.D): h o (g'wá a) and h u a n (g'wán g) were "homophonous", and g. and b. have the same Hs Phonetic. Probably some late Han dialect had nasalized the vowel in g'wán > g'wá", thus making it similar to g'wá a., but this is certainly not applicable to archaic times.

417. h o (g'wá a) 'harmony, to mix' etc. Kt for h i (xia b) 'to sport, jest', but not in this sense but meaning 'flag' says Chang Ping-lin (Siao hüe ta wen) on Chouli: Ta si ma phr. c.: "With flags he makes the left and right flag gates". Chang adduces that in Han shu: Kao Ti ki the h i b is used as Kt for h u e i (xmüia d) 'a signal flag', and g'wá a. would then really be Kt for xmüia d. — Unlikely. Kiang Yung takes h o a. here in the sense of s ü - h o e. 'good order' and the name refers to the well-regulated movements of the troops through these improvised "gates", i.e. openings between the flags. c. = "With flags he makes the left and the right gates-of-good-order".

418. h o (g'd a) 'what, which' Kt for n g o (ngá b) 'fine' say Ma Juei-ch'en and Ch'en Huan on Ode 267 phr. c., as quoted in Tso: Siang 27, to which corresponds Shuowen's version d. The word b. is known from no other text. The Mao version has correspondingly e. — Unlikely. The version c. represents a different text tradition than that in d. and e., see in detail Gloss 758. e. = "With (ampleness:) ample blessings he overwhelms us".

419. h o (xák a) 'red, fiery, awe-inspiring' Kt for s h i (síák b) Shuowen = c. 'ample' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Ode 263 phr. d.: "amply, brightly . . .". On the other hand, síák b. is Kt for xák a. says Tuan on Ode 178 phr. e.: "The chariot of state was red-coloured". — Reject. Much confusion has been caused by three characters with double readings or appearing in different text traditions:

王休貝廿朋 d 好以大屈 c 休王 410 a 休 b 煦 c 休於氣 d 美 e 而  
或燠休之 f 盛氣顛實揚休 g 陽煦 411 a 休 b 喜 c 休徵 412 a 兄  
b 皇 c 兄考 d 豈兄堯舜之教民溟滓然弟之哉 413 a 兄 b 荒 c 延  
(誕?) 兄六品 d 荒殷邦 e 延 f 王令保及殷東國五侯 g 及 h 既 i 錫  
玉五品 414 a 雄 b 融 c 雄雄赫赫天德明只 415 a 雄 b 勇 c 勇  
士一人雄入於九軍 416 a 和 b 宣 c 布德和令 d 和布於四方 e 和  
吉言 f 乃成天不宣乃心 g 桓 417 a 和 b 戲 c 以旌為左右和之門



1. The char. f. is really two graphs. In one of them: H o ( $\chi\acute{a}k$ ) 'a place name'  $\chi\acute{a}k$  a. abbreviated is Phonetic. In the other: s h ī ( $\acute{s}i\acute{a}k$ ) 'to break soil, to open up' the Phonetic is c h' ī ( $i'\acute{a}k$  g); through the abbreviation in the former case the two words have coincided in the char. f. For the reading  $\acute{s}i\acute{a}k$  'to break soil, to open up' see Erya: Shī hūn and our Gloss 1117 — it is then a variant for s h ī ( $\acute{s}i\acute{a}k$  h) (in Ode 290 wr. i).

2. The char. h o ( $\chi\acute{a}k$  a) means 'read, fiery-red, fiery, awe-inspiring, majestic', cf. Gloss 984. As such it occurs in phr. d.: "majestically, brightly"; there is not the slightest need to read it (through Kt)  $\acute{s}i\acute{a}k$ , as Tuan wishes, nor does Lu Tê-ming suggest any such reading in his comm. on Ode 263. Tuan's reason is that under Erya: Shī hūn the phrase h o h o j. Lu Tê-ming records that Kuo P'o read it like h., i.e.  $\acute{s}i\acute{a}k$  (this simply because another Erya text tradition, that of Shê-jen had k. inst. of j) but that Sie and himself read a. in the ordinary way:  $\chi\acute{a}k$ , both in Ode 263 and elsewhere and in Erya.

3. The char. b. when meaning 'red' is read h i ( $\chi i\acute{a}k$ ), as indicated by Lu Tê-ming both under Ode 278 and under Ode 213. It is then cognate to but by no means identical with h o ( $\chi\acute{a}k$  a); least of all is it (with Tuan) a  $\acute{s}i\acute{a}k$  that is Kt for a  $\chi\acute{a}k$ . The same char. b., however, is also used for another word (just as l. serves both for a *kiwat* and for a *mjad*): S h ī ( $\acute{s}i\acute{a}k$ ) the personal name of the famous prince of Shao. And since Shuowen defines the char. b. as = c. 'ample', Tuan concludes that it was the proper reading in Ode 263 phr. d., and that a. should be read  $\acute{s}i\acute{a}k$  as Kt for this b. Refuted above. The Shuowen text has an addition under b.: "it is read like f."; this, however, does not mean that b. was ever read  $\chi\acute{a}k$  like the place name (when Shê-jen ap. K'ung Ying-ta on Ode 290 says "it is read similar to m.  $\chi w\acute{a}k$ ", this is an arbitrary guess) but simply that it was read like  $\acute{s}i\acute{a}k$  f. 'to break soil', see under l. above.

420. h o ( $\chi\acute{a}k$  a) 'red, fiery, awe-inspiring' Kt for h u a ( $g'w\acute{a}$  b) 'flower' says Yü Yüe on Chuang: Ma t'i phr. c: "At the time of the lords of Hua-sü "Flourishing coöperation", as it is given in Lie: Huang ti. — Reject. c. = "Brilliant coöperation".

421. h o ( $g'\acute{a}t$  a) 'which, what, where, why' Kt for h a i ( $g'\acute{a}d$  b) 'to hurt, damage'. Under b. above (paragr. 338) we have seen that this sometimes is Kt for a. Here we have *vice versa*. Example in Shu: T'ang shī phr. c.: "That one (sc. Kie) daily injures and destroys", see Gloss 1407. On the other hand, when on Ode 304 phr. d. Mao Heng proposed that a. is Kt for b., this should be rejected; a. is Kt for e. (within the same Hs series), and the Lu and Han versions of the Ode really had e., not a; d. = "There was nobody who could dare to check us".

422. h o ( $g'\acute{a}t$  a) 'which, what, how' etc. Kt for k i e ( $k\acute{a}d$  b) in the sense of k i e ( $k\acute{a}d$  c) 'boundary, limit' says Yü Sing-wu on Sün: K'iang kuo phr. d.; the words h o - j o would then be equal to k i e - j a n e. Thus e. = "Being clearly (delimited:) distinguished — which of the two (sc. procedures) deserves to be enacted?" — Inadmissible. Yang Liang naturally took h o - j o as = f., and though Wang Nien-sun complains that this has no *raison d'être* in the context, it could very well be an interstice: "What about it?" Above all, Yü has overlooked that we have the same h o - j o a few lines earlier, in the phr. g., where his explanation is not appli-

cable; would h o - j o thus have two entirely different meanings a few lines apart?  
 423. h o (*g'əp a*) 'to join' Kt for h u e i (*g'wdd b*) 'to unite' etc. says Sun Yi-jang on the Shao po Hu Kuei inscr. phr. c.: "(Shuo) came to join in the [governing] affairs". — Reject. a. and b. are often quite synonymous, and h o s h ī will be equally good as h u e i s h ī.

424. h o (*g'āp a*) 'to close, why not' Kt for h o (*g'āt b*) 'which, what, why' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai (Shuowen kie tsi chu). Tuan means that since Hū Shen defines a. by c. 'to cover', it must be the original graph for k a i (*kād d*) and thus must anciently have belonged to the -t class, not the -p class; its appearing in the -p class acc. to Tuan "is not ancient". — Reject. The final -p is Archaic, see Grammata Serica Recensa group 642 and Gloss 734.

425. h u (*g'o a*) when meaning 'in, at, on' Kt for y ü (*giwo b*) 'in, at, on' says Chu Tsün-sheng. — Certainly not. They are synonymous, but there is not the slightest reason for believing that a. was ever pronounced like b.

426. h u (*g'o a*) 'in, at, on' Kt for c h' u (*i'io b*) 'place; to dwell' says Ma Sū-lun on Chuang: Chī pei yu phr. c., which thus would be equal to w u c h' u t' a o w u. — Reject. One text version after p i has a w e i (*d*) and Kuo Siang's comm. shows that his version has w e i. (Chuang has just said that Tao exists in every object; he continues:) c. = "You should not assert that it does not exist in the (abandoned things:) things from which it keeps apart".

427. h u (*g'o a*) 'dewlap; which, why, what' Kt for h i a (*g'd b*) 'distant, far-reaching' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 290 phr. c.: "far-reaching old age", Ode 193 phr. d. "the far-reaching fragrance is truly good", Yili: Shī kuan li phr. e. "far-reaching felicity" (this latter corresponding to Ode 216 phr. f). — Plausible, see Gloss 553. Cf. also our paragr. 380 above on h i a b. — It should be added that when a. 'dewlap' is used as Kt for 'which, what, why' this latter was a homophonous h u (*g'o*), acc. to all traditions. a. was not Kt for and pronounced like h o (*g'āt g*), as Chu Tsün-sheng proposes.

428. h u (*g'o a*) 'dewlap', used for h u (*g'o b*) 'a kind of vessel' Kt for k u (*ko c*) 'vessel' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Tso: Ai 11 phr. d. and Lun: Kung-ye Ch'ang phr. e. — Shuowen has the word c, defined as = f. 'a vessel', but it does not occur in pre-Han texts; yet it must in all probability be id. with a kind of vessel written g. in a number of inscribed bronze vessels, square, low vessels (reminding of P'an) on

d 麾 e 叙和 418a 何 b 議 c 何以恤我 d 議以溢我 e 假以溢我  
 419a 赫 b 爽 c 盛 d 赫赫明明 e 路車有爽 f 郝 g 赤 h 釋 i 澤 j 赫  
 赫 k 爽爽 l 袂 m 麓 420a 赫 b 華 c 夫赫胥氏之時 421a 曷 b 害  
 c 時日曷喪 d 莫我敢曷 e 遏 422a 曷 b 介 c 界 d 曷若兩者孰足  
 為也 e 界然 f 何如 g 曷若是而可以持國乎 423a 合 b 會 c 來合  
 事 424a 盍 (盍) b 曷 c 覆 d 蓋 (蓋) 425a 乎 b 于 426a 乎 b 處 c 汝

a low foot. The Chinese palaeographers (Liu Sin-yüan and followers) have identified this vessel with the *f u* (*p̄iwo h*), a vessel recorded in Li: Li yün phr. i. This is tempting in view of the parallelism between phr. d. and phr. i., but when they pose that *k u* (*ko g*) is Kt for *f u* (*p̄iwo h*), this is phonetically excluded: *k u* and *f u* may have been alternative names for the same kind of vessel, but there can be no question of *g*. having ever been pronounced *p̄iwo*. — Chu's idea that *h u* (*g'o a, b*) is Kt for *k u* (*ko c, g*) is phonetically admissible but no more than a guess. It could just as well be a Kt for the homophonous *h u* (*g'o j*).

429. *h u* (*g'o a*) 'flask' Kt for *f u* (*b'ïu b*) 'a tally' says Kuo Mo-jo on the Shao po Hu inscr. phr. c.: "with a tally reported and paid". — Reject. The words *y i h u* should, with Jung Keng (Shang Chou *yi k'i*) and others, be carried to the preceding line: d.: "I presented X a Hu flask".

430. *h u* (*g'wo a*) 'bow, to bend' Kt for *w u* (*'wo b*) 'mud, dirt' says Tu Tsī-ch'un on Chouli: Chou jen phr. c.: "(In giving the curvature to the carriage pole) one wants it to be gently-(curving) and not go (dirtily:) unduly deep (sc. in the curve)." — Cheng Hūan did not accept this: c. = One wants it to be gently-(curving) and not go deep (in the curve) as an (archery) bow". Certainly right.

431. *h u*, *w u* (*χmwo, m̄iwo a*) 'big slice of meat, great' etc. Kt for *m u* (*m̄ag b*) 'model' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 193 phr. c.: "Though the people have no (model:) law"; this because Cheng Hūan defined *a*. here by *d*. — Reject, refuted in detail in Gloss 580. c. = "Though the people is not (great, ample:) numerous".

432. *h u* (*χmwo a*) 'to cover' Kt for *w u* (*m̄iu b*) 'to despise, insult' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: T'ou hu phr. c.: "Do not be insulting, do not be arrogant"; this because Cheng Hūan says *d.*, defining both *h u* and *a o* as = 'disrespectful'. — Reject. Fang Pao (quoted with approval by Ho Yi-hang) says *a*. is Kt for *h u* (*χo e*) 'to bawl': "Do not bawl . . .". And Wang Fu-chī defines *a*. by *h u a n g* (*χmwāng f*) 'wild, excessive': "Do not be excessive . . ."; he probably meant that *a*. was Kt for *f.*, just as many scholars all from Han time have insisted that when *w a n g* (*m̄iwo g*) has the sense of 'not have' it is Kt for *w u* (*m̄iwo h*) and should be read *w u* and not *w a n g* (this latter Kt idea should, of course, be rejected: *w u* and *w a n g* were synonymous, and *g*. should never be read *w u* — unless it may occasionally have served as a convenient short-form for *w u*). Lu Tê-ming, on the other hand, has had a version of phr. c. reading *h u* (*χmwo i*) inst. of *a*. — All these attempts should be declined. Both *h u a.* and *h u i.* occur in the Odes as variants of *h u*, *w u* (*χmwo, m̄iwo j*) 'great', and so does *a*. here: c. = "Do not be (great:) overbearing, do not be arrogant".

433. *h u* (*χmwet a*) 'careless, sudden' etc. Kt for *k u* (*kwet b*) 'to disturb, disorder' says Wang Yin-chī (Shu wen) on Shu: Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi) phr. c.: "I will examine [if there is] good government or disorder". — Discussed in detail in Gloss 1322: The phr. c. is really a highly corrupted text version, which should be rejected.

434. *h u* (*g'uk a*) 'a measure' Kt for *c h' u* (*t'ïuk b*) 'to knock against' says Ma Sū-lun on Chuang: T'ien hia phr. c.: "His (sc. Mo-tsi's) principles are very offensive". — Reject. Kuo Siang and Li Yi (Tsin dynasty) defined *a*. as = *d*. 'lacking in smoothness', thus: "His principles are rough", evidently (with Lu Tê-ming)

taking a. to be Kt for h ü e, k' ü e (*g'ük, k'ük* e.) 'hard and stony' (text ex. in Hanfei). But Kuan: Ti yün has a passage f., and Yin Chī-chang here defines a. as = g. 'thin' (Erya: Shī ku has an entry h.: "a. means exhausted") thus f. = "(The grains of the cereals) are solid and not meagre". Kuo K'ing-fan thinks a. has this meaning in phr. c.: "His principles are (thin, meagre:) niggardly". This, in fact, tallies best with the preceding line in Chuang phr. i.: "In life toil, in death (thinness:) niggardliness" — "his principles are niggardly". This is certainly the most convincing.

435. h u a (*χwa* a) 'to transform, to change' Kt for h u o (*g'wǎ* b) 'calamity' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Chouli: Ta chu phr. c.: "the prayers [against] calamities". — Possible, but uncertain. Cheng Chung gave a. its proper sense, saying that this prayer was for "avoiding catastrophes and wards", evidently (with Sun Yi-jang) meaning: "the prayers for changing (the baleful fate impending)", and this has caused Chu's theory above. But the phr. c. is too general and indefinite in its formulation to allow of any precise interpretation.

436. h u a (*g'wǎ* a) 'flower' Kt for h u (*g'wo* b) 'bottle-gourd, melon' says Cheng Hüan on Li: Kiao t'ê sheng phr. c., since he defines a. as = d. 'fruits from plants' (as opp. to such from trees): "The Son of Heaven plants melons and gourds". — Plausible. In Li: Yüe ling we have correspondingly: e.

437. h u a (*g'wǎ* a) 'flower' Kt for k' u a (*k'wǎ* b) 'depressed; lowland' says Cheng Hüan on Chouli: Hing fang shī phr. c.: "[so that] there will be no depressed or detached [patches of] ground". Cheng adds that b. means d., which the Ts'ing scholars have identified with the phr. e. in Shuowen, there defined as = f. 'low'. Yet the g. was Anc. 'wa (= Arch. 'wǎ), whereas Lu Tê-ming insists that Cheng Hüan read b. Anc. *k'wa* (Arch. *k'wǎ*). Kia Kung-yen proposes that a. means 'broad at the ends and narrow in the middle', whereas Tuan Yü-ts'ai thinks that it means 'slanting and drawn out'. Huei Shī-k'í again thinks that b. is equal to k u a i h. in the sense of 'oblique'. — All this is so many guesses. Cheng's propos should be rejected and *g'wǎ* a. 'flower' is Kt for a homophonous word *g'wǎ* 'to cleave', which is well attested in Li: Kiao t'ê sheng phr. i.: "For the ruler of a state one cleaves it" (sc. the melon). Here Lu Tê-ming says that a. is read Anc. *γwa* (Arch. *g'wǎ*). Thus c.: "There will be no cleft and detached [patches of] ground".

唯莫必無乎迭物d必謂 427 a 胡b遐c胡考d胡臭壺時e胡福  
f遐福g曷 428 a 胡b瑚c盥d胡簋之事e瑚璉f器g匡h簠  
i寶其簠簋j壺 429 a 壺b符c以壺告曰d余獻寢氏以壺 430  
a 弧b汙c欲其孫而無弧滌 431 a 臚b模c民雖靡臚d法 432  
a 撫b侮c毋撫毋教d撫教慢也e呼f荒g亡h無i撫j撫  
433 a 忽b滑c在治忽 434 a 穀b觸c其道太穀d無潤e确f剛  
而不穀g薄h穀盡也i其生也勤其死也薄 435 a 化b禍c化視

438. *h u a* (*g'wǎ a*) 'flower' Kt for *k' u a* (*k'wǎ b*) 'to boast' says Ma Sü-lun on Lao 38 phr. c.: "Fore-knowledge is a boasting of [possessing] the Tao, but it is the beginning of folly". — This Lao passage is extensively explained in Hanfei: Kie Lao and *h u a* a. has its regular meaning: "Fore-knowledge [may seem] a (flower:) fine attribute of the Tao (i.e. fine ability in those who possess the Tao), but it is (merely) the beginning of folly".

Similarly, on an analogous phr. in Chuang: Chī pei yu: d. Ma Sü-lun says a. is Kt for b., but here again *t a o c h ī h u a* means as in Lao above.

Again, on Chuang: Ta tsung shī phr. e. Ma Sü-lun says a. is Kt for f. (sc. the primary graph for b.): "Grandly manifest was their emptiness, but they did not brag (about it)". Here as well a. has its regular meaning: "but they did not make (a flower:) an empty adornment of it".

439. *h u a* (*g'wet a*) 'slippery' Kt for *k u* (*kwat b*) 'to confuse, to disturb, to trouble' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on many passages in the pre-Han texts (e.g. Kyü: Chou yü phr. c.). — We should rather say that *g'wet* and *kwat* are two aspects of the same word stem: 'slippery: unsteady: to upset, to disturb'. Hence a. could appear now as *g'wet*, now as *kwat*.

440. *h u a* (*g'wet a*) 'slippery' Kt for *k' ü* (*k'iwat b*) says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Sü Wu Kuei phr. c. The binome d. would be equal to e. 'to bend, subjugate, suppress': c. = "[Though] suppressed (i.e. hidden) it (sc. the heavenly power) has its reality". — This is tempting because of the similarity between the two binomes d. and e. Yet Lu Tê-ming reads c. Anc. *γiet-/γwat* (Arch. *g'iet-g'wet*) whereas e. was Arch. *k'iet-k'iwat*. And e. is only known from Han-time and later texts. Some have tried to take the words in c. separately: "h i e rising up and *h u a* (slippery =) rolling about (i.e. difficult to grasp), it yet has a reality". But the ancient tradition has it as a binome: Kuo Siang = f. 'heterogenous'; Hiang Siu = g. 'confused'; thus c.: "In the disparateness (confusion) [of the things] it (the heavenly power) has its reality". This seems to be the safest explanation.

441. *h u a*, *h u o* (*g'wǎg, g'wǎk a*) 'to draw, to plan' Kt for *k u o* (*kwǎ b*) 'to pass' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ku-liang: Huan 6 phr. c.: "Because he (sc. the prince of Chou) passed us" (sc. the territory of Lu). Kung-yang correspondingly has d. with *h u a* (*χwa e*) 'to change', and Chu adds that this e. is likewise Kt for b. — Reject. The *χwa e* of the Kung-yang text could possibly be Kt for *kwǎ b*. 'to pass', here in the sense of 'to pass by' without the proper visiting rites (this is the general idea as expressed in the Ho Hiu comm.). Hung Yi-süan insists on the Kt, particularly since an earlier paragraph in the text runs f. And there is a parallel in Kung-yang: Ai 6 phr. g.: "I wish that you gentlemen (pass by =) pay a short visit en passant to me" (e. could certainly not mean h. here). But this is not applicable to the Ku-liang text c. If Lu Tê-ming, who gives it the *j u - s h e n g*, is right, the second form *h u o* (*g'wǎk*) would be the proper reading. This word: 'to plan, to design' may then mean c.: "because he [only] had designs on us", equal to the common expression i. The curious similarity between Ku-liang (c.) and Kung-yang (d) suggests that both are based on some earlier source which they have understood differently, each paraphrasing it in his own way.

442. *h u a i* (*g'wer a*) 'bosom, to cherish' Kt for *k u e i* (*k'wər b*) 'Spirit' says Yü Sing-wu (Wen süan) on the Po Chung Kuei inscr. phr. c.: "Thereby he comforts the *shen k u e i* Spirits and (d. = e) reverences the deceased fine men". — Kuo Mo-jo, better, reads *h u a i a*. together with the following: "Thereby he comforts the *shen* Spirits and *h u a i* shows love for (d. = f) the deceased fine men".

443. *h u a i* (*g'wer a*) 'to ruin, to spoil' Kt for *h u e i* (*g'wər b*) 'sick' says Lu Tê-ming (so understanding Mao Heng's gloss) on Ode 198 phr. c.: "sick tree". Another school ap. Shuowen had d. — There is hardly any Kt here, *g'wer* and *g'wər* being cognate words, see in detail Gloss 599.

444. *h u a i* (*g'wer a*) 'bosom, to cherish' Kt for *k u e i* (*k'wər b*) 'to return, to go to' says Wen Yi-to on Ode 149 phr. c.: "Those good words of returning home". Mao had defined a. by b. (Erya also has an entry a. = b.). — Refuted in Gloss 110 a. On the other hand, there are cases where such a Kt seems more plausible. When Shu: Kin t'eng has phr. d.: "Our former king will also forever have a reliance and a resort" (i.e. sacrifices to sustain them), and when Kyü: Chou yü has phr. e. and Wei Chao says a. = b., it is fairly certain that a. is Kt for b.: "There is nowhere to find a reliance and a resort".

445. *h u a i* (*g'wer a*) 'bosom, to cherish' Kt for *k u e i* (*g'wər b*) 'to present' says Yü Sing-wu (Chu tsī) on Hanfei: Nei ch'u shuo, hia phr. c.: "He presented an attendant a wiping-cloth". — Plausible. But it could equally well be said that a. is Kt for d., used as in Lun: Yang Huo phr. e.: "He sent a present of a pig to Confucius".

446. *h u a n* (*g'wan a*) 'to turn round' Kt for *h ü a n* (*g'üan b*) 'to suspend' and *h i e n* (*g'ian*) 'district' says Sun Yi-jang (Ku chou shī yi, Ku chou yü lun) on the Yin Fu inscr. phr. c. He takes d. to stand for e. 'harvest', thus: "to (*s i t i e n*): manage (*h i e n*): the district's (*s ê*): agriculture, forests and pastures". — Unlikely. d. for e. is unconvincing, and a. got the reading *g'ian* and meaning 'district' only in late Chou texts. Kuo Mo-jo takes *t i e n* to be a place name, *g'wan a*. to be Kt for *y ü a n* (*y'wän f*) 'park' and d. to stand for g. (which latter is Phon. in the graph d) 'forest, wood', thus: "to (*s i*): manage the Tien-parks' woods, forests and pastures". If so, why the pleonastic "woods, forests"? The question of this inscription remains open.

436a 華b 瓠c 天子樹瓜華d 果蓏e 瓜瓠不成 437a 華b 瓠c 無  
有華離之地d 瓠邪e 窳衰f 下g 窳h 乖i 為國君者華之 438a  
華b 誇c 前識者道之華而愚之始d 禮者道之華而亂之始e 張乎  
其虛而不華f 夸 439a 滑b 汨c 滑夫=川之神 440a 滑b 詘c  
頤滑有實d 頤滑e 詘詘f 不同g 錯亂 441a 畫b 過c 以其畫我  
d 化我也e 化f 過我g 願諸大夫之化我h 教化i 圖我 442a 裹  
b 鬼c 用安(綏)神裹虎前文人d 虎e 虔f 乎 443a 壞b 羸c 壞

447. *h u a n* (*g'wan* a) 'to turn round' Kt for *y i n g* (*giwǝng* b) in its sense of 'to confuse, to delude' says Wang Nien-sun on Sün: Ch'eng siang phr. c.: "to confuse (delude) his sovereign;" the same phr. occurs written d. in Sün: Ch'en tao. — This Kt theory is not so shocking as it would seem, for the graph e. 'to turn round', which is the primary form for both a. and f. ('round, to turn round, circle, ring' etc., see Grammata Ser. Rec. 256) also serves for another quite unrelated word *k' i u n g* (*g'iwǝng*) 'solitary, helpless', see Gloss 299. (There are many such cases in the arch. script: the same graph for g. and h., and so on). The Sün phrases c. and d. were certainly primarily wr. i., and this e., read *g'iwǝng* was Kt for *y i n g* (*giwǝng*) b. *y i n g* b. in the sense of 'to confuse, to delude' is well attested, e.g. Sün: Yu tso phr. j.: "to embellish [his own] faults and delude the multitude". It is then closely cognate to (of the same word stem as) *y i n g* (*g'iweng* k) 'to dazzle, confuse, delude' (text ex. in Chuang). Wang Nien-sun's idea about phr. c. (d.) is certainly right.

Again, on Mo: Keng Chu phr. l. Sun Yi-jiang takes a. as = e., which latter, after Shuowen, he defines as 'scared looks': l. = "With scared looks he steals them" (sc. the cakes). But Yü Sing-wu says a. stands for e. as Kt for b.: "(Deludedly:) foolishly he steals them", which seems more convincing.

448. *h u a n* (*g'wan* a) 'to turn round' is often Kt for *s ü a n* (*dziwan* b) 'to turn round', not a phonetic Kt but a "synonym Kt" (like *kiwat* c. 'sleeve' Kt for *mjad* c. 'sleeve'), e.g. Li: Li yün phr. d. (Lu Tê-ming a. read *dziwan*). By extension this *dziwan* can mean 'agile' (see Gloss 248) in Ode 97 phr. e.: "How agile you are". When the Han school here reads *s ü a n* (*dziwan* f) defined as = g. 'fine', Wang Nien-sun thinks that a. of the Mao school is Kt for this f. But the latter has no other text support and it is certainly only an enlarged form of b. 'agile'.

449. *h u a n* (*g'wan* a) 'to turn round' Kt for *p' a n* (*b'wǎn* b) 'to turn round' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: T'ien hia phr. c.: "like the whirling of a violent wind". — Reject. a. was, of course, never read *b'wǎn*. The two words were synonyms and no Kt is required.

450. *h u a n* (*g'wan* a) 'Royal domain proper' Kt for *h ü a n*, *h i e n* (*g'iwǎn*, *g'ian* b) in the sense of 'district' says Lu Tê-ming on Ku-liang: Yin 1 phr. c.: "a prince-vassal within the Royal domain". — Lu, however, gives an alternative reading Anc. *γwan* (Arch. *g'wan*) and this is most probable, a. being of the same word-stem as a long row of words in this Hs series; a. = "the encircling territory".

451. *h u a n* (*g'wan* a) 'ring' Kt for *c h u a n* (*d'iwǎn* b) 'carved design on jade tessera' says Yang Shu-ta (Kin wen shuo) on the Shī Kū Yi inscr. phr. c.: "to give . . . four carved *c h a n g* tesserae"; this because Chouli: Yü jen has a phr. d. — Reject. a. was identified with e. by Wu Ta-ch'eng, and this is certainly the most natural: c. = "to give . . . four *k u e i - c h a n g* (jade handles for libation ladles) with rings".

452. *h u a n* (*g'wǎn* a) 'powder of burnt bone and lacquer mixed and rolled into balls' (Shuowen) Kt for *h u a n* (*g'wan* b) 'name of a weight' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Chouli: Ye sü phr. c.: "It has a weight of three *h u a n*". Cheng Chung said that a. was Kt for *h u a n*, *w a n* (*g'wǎn* d) 'a ball', whatever he meant by that. — a.

with its meaning as given in Shuowen above is only known from Eastern Han time and later, and the original meaning and reading of the graph is thus unknown. The name of the weight was in one pre-Han text *g'wán* a. (Chouli), in another *g'wan* b. (Shu: Lü hing), possibly two variants of the same word stem. See in detail our Gloss 2062, where several other complications regarding the Shu phr. are discussed.

453. *h u a n* (*g'wan* a) 'to stare' Kt for *h ü a n* (*g'iwan* b) 'to tie round' says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: T'ien ti phr. c.: "In a tied fashion [they sit] in their bonds". — Unlikely, such a pleonasm being unnecessary. c. = "Staring [they sit] in their bonds".

454. *h u a n g* (*χmwáng* a) 'waste' etc. Kt for *k' a n g* (*k'áng* b) 'empty husk' etc., here defined as = c. 'empty' says Cheng Hüan (ap. Lu Tê-ming) on Yi: Kua 11 phr. d. How Cheng really understood the phr. is obscure. — Reject. The Sung school interpreted d. in the abstract: "[He can] bear with the uncultivated" (Legge). But Wang Yin-chi (Shu wen) refers to the Han-time interpr. ap. Yang Hiung's T'ai hüan king (e.) which clearly shows that Yang took *h u a n g* a. in its well-known sense of 'wild tracts', i.e. the *h u a n g* f u f., regions of the Barbarians, the zone of domination farthest from the Royal capital. Yang explains d. by g.: "He controls the 9 [kinds of] Barbarians". As the commentator Fan Wang on Yang's work expresses it: h. = "He (embraces:) has in his power the [zones of] the Wild tracts [of the Barbarians]", i.e. the whole earthly realm, into its farthest confines. This is certainly right. (It might be added that Wen Yi-to takes *χmwáng* a. as Kt for *k u a* (*kwâ* i) 'gourd' so that *p a o h u a n g* would be equal to *p' a o k u a j*, an amusing speculation).

Again, a. is Kt for *k' a n g* (*k'áng* k) 'empty' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 257 phr. l., where Mao Heng defines a. as = c. But this char. c. besides 'empty' also, read *k' ü* (= m.), means 'waste, ruins', and that may have been Mao's idea, certainly preferable: l. = "All things together are utterly (waste:) ruined", see Gloss 976. — The word *k'áng* k. (Erya: Shī ku = 'empty') is not known from texts but must be id. with *k'áng* b., which means 'empty husk' in Ku-liang. (In Ode 220 phr. n. Cheng Hüan says b. means 'empty': "They fill the empty cup", but n. bet-

木 d 瘞木 444 a 懷 b 歸 c 懷之好音 d 我先王亦永有依歸 e 無所  
依懷 445 a 懷 b 飽 c 懷左右刷 d 歸 e 歸孔子豚 446 a 還 b 縣 c

嗣(司)奠還敵眾吳(虞)眾牧 d 敵 e 畺 f 苑(苑) g 林 447 a 還 b 營  
c 還主 d 環主 e 眾 f 環 g 人 h 尸 i 眾主 j 飾邪營眾 k 焚 l 還然  
竊之 448 a 還 b 旋 c 袂 d 日 月還相為本 e 子之還芳 f 旋 g 好  
449 a 還 b 般 c 若飄風之還 450 a 寰 b 縣 c 寰內諸侯 451 a 環 b  
珠 c 錫...環章四 d 珠圭章 e 環 452 a 堯 b 鏐 c 重三堯 d 丸 453



ter: "They fill that cup of rest", see Gloss 710). H u a n g a. 'waste, ruined' in many passages comes very near in meaning to k' a n g b. when this means 'empty' ('empty husk'), but it was certainly never read k' a n g.

455. h u a n g (*χmwǎng* a) 'waste' etc. Kt for l i a n g (*liǎng* b) 'to measure' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Shu: Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi) phr. c.: "I measured the land work". — Reject. h u a n g a. is often Kt for a homophonous word (*χmwǎng*) meaning 'great, to extend, extensively', see Glosses 287 and 1077 (with text examples). Thus e. = "I extensively planned the land work".

456. h u a n g (*χmwǎng* a) 'waste' etc. Kt for p' u (*p' o c*) 'vast' but not in this ordinary sense of the character but meaning (after Shuowen) 'bleak, without colour' says Chang Ping-lin on Chuang: Tsai yu phr. c.: "The light of sun and moon became ever more bleak". — Reject. Shuowen's definition is not confirmed by a single text, and this Kt is phonetically excluded. c. = "The light of sun and moon is ever more (ruined:) failing".

457. h u a n g (*g'wǎng* a) 'august' etc. Kt for h u a n g, k' u a n g (*χi'wang* b) 'how much the more, moreover' (this sometimes wr. without the left part) in Shu: Wu yi phr. c.: "Do not moreover say . . ." and several more Shu passages, see Gloss 1850. — When Ode 35 has phr. d.: "How do I have leisure to be anxious for my future" (so translated in Gloss 97), but this in Li: Piao ki and in Tso: Siang 25 is quoted e., Yü Yüe insists that f. is an erroneously enlarged form and that we should follow e.: "How much the less can I be anxious about my future". This is possible.

458. h u a n g (*g'wǎng* a) 'august' etc. Kt for k' u a n g (*k' i'wang* b) 'to correct' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 157 phr. c.: "The States of the four quarters, them he corrected"; this because Mao Heng defined a. by b. — It is more cautious to say that a. was Kt for a homophonous *g'wǎng* 'to correct', possibly cognate to b., see Gloss 393. No tradition has it that a. should be read *k' i'wang*.

459. h u a n g (*g'wǎng* a) 'august' etc. Kt for k u a n g (*kwǎng*, falling tone, b) 'full, extensive' says Wang Nien-sun (Shu wen) on Ta Tai li: Siao pien phr. c.: "It extends to the four seas". — Plausible, see Glosses 899, 1209.

460. h u a n g (*g'wǎng* a) 'august' etc. Kt for w a n g (*g i'wang* b) 'to go' says Cheng Hün on Ode 209 phr. c. "The deceased ancestors (proceed:) come". — Refuted in Gloss 661. c. = "The deceased ancestors are august".

461. h u a n g (*g'wǎng* a) 'august' etc. Kt for h u n g (*g'wǎng* b) 'crosswise' says Kuo Mo-jo on the King Yu inscr. phr. c.; but, says Kuo, since a. is here obviously a verb, 'crosswise' should here mean 'to lift': "He (lifted:) promoted King to go to his office". A curious speculation, since b. never means 'to lift' in any other text. Wu K'ai-sheng proposes that *g'wǎng* a. is Kt for h u a n g (*χi'wang* d.) 'to give, to bestow': "He endowed King to go to his office". Yang Shu-ta proposes that *g'wǎng* â. is Kt for h u (*χo e*) 'to call': "He summoned King . . ." — phonetically absurd. h u a n g a. has its own value, with an extension of meaning: '(to make) august > to exalt > to promote': "He promoted King to go to his office".

462. h u a n g (*g'wǎng* a) 'yellow' Kt for h e n g (*g'ǎng* b) 'top-gem of girdle-

pendant' says Liu Sin-yüan on the Mao Kung Ting inscr. phr. c., which corresponds to Ode 178 phr. d.: "the onion-coloured top-gem of the girdle-pendant". — Plausible.

In the Sung Ting inscr. phr. e. Wu Ta-ch'eng takes a. as Kt for *h e n g* (*g'äng f*) in the sense of 'cross-piece supporting ceremonial cap' (ex. in Tso: Huan 2), but Kuo Mo-jo still takes it to stand for b.; the choice is highly uncertain.

463. *h u a n g*, *k' u a n g* (*xiwang a*) 'to increase, how much the more' Kt for *f a n g* (*p'xiwang b*) 'to resemble' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Sün: Fei shī er tsī phr. c.: "In their fame they (resemble:) are comparable to feudal lords"; this because Yang Liang says a. means b. — Reject. c. = "Their fame is (increased over:) surpasses [that of] feudal lords". Indeed, Yang alternatively says it might be equal to *y i* e. For this meaning of the word see Glosses 412, 971.

Again, a. Kt for b. says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: Chī pei-yu phr. f., turning about the word sequence: *m e i h u a n g y ü h i a*: "Each time that he compares (sc the fatness of the pig) he (treads with the foot) further down". — Reject. The line need not be altered: e. = "Each time he treads down he *y ü h u a n g* (increases it:) treads more deeply".

464. *h u e i* (*xmwia a*) 'signal flag' Kt for *e r* (*nĩdr b*) 'near' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: Li k'i phr. c.: (He does not sacrifice) "(too near and early =) prematurely". — Reject. Cheng Hūan defined a. as = d. 'quick', thus c.: (He does not sacrifice) "(quickly and early =) prematurely". Lu Tê-ming still reads a. Anc. *xiwię* (= Arch. *xmwia*) and considers a. 'flag' as Kt for a homophonous word 'quick'. Lu, however, records the existence of a text variant *m o* (*mwa e*) 'to rub, to touch', and since this occurs in Tso: "Süan 12 phr. f.: "(touching =) coming close to the embankments he returns", e. may be the better reading here in c.: (He does not sacrifice) "(touchingly =) immediately and early" (i.e. prematurely). In any case Chu's Kt idea is impossible.

465. *h u e i* (*xwia a*) 'to signalize, to display' Kt for *s ü a n* (*siwan b*) 'to proclaim, to display' etc. says Cheng Hūan on Yi: Kua 15 phr. c.: "He displays his modesty". — Reject. No Kt is necessary, a. making good sense. When Chu Hi says that a. is "the same as" *h u e i* (*xiwar d*), he is wide of the mark.

466. *h u e i* (*g'wad a*) 'to unite' etc. Kt for *h u e i* (*g'wad b*) 'variegated' says Sun Yi-jang (under Chouli: Sī fu) on Shu: Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi) phr. c. Fu Sheng's text had d., and Cheng Hūan in comm. on Chouli: Sī fu quotes Shu as d., not as

a 皖 b 纓 c 晚 皖然在經緯之中 454 a 荒 b 康 c 虛 d 包荒 e 大次  
五測 f 荒服 g 督九夷 h 包有四荒 i 瓜 j 瓠瓜 k 濂 l 具贅卒荒 m  
墟 n 酌彼康爵 455 a 荒 b 量 c 惟荒度土功 456 a 荒 b 普 c 日月  
之光益以荒矣 457 a 皇 b 況(見) c 無皇曰 d 違恤我後 e 皇恤 f 違  
458 a 皇 b 匡 c 四國是皇 459 a 皇 b 枕(光橫) c 皇於四海 460 a  
皇 b 往 c 先祖是皇 461 a 皇 b 衡 a 皇 b 衡 c 皇競各于官 d 既  
e 乎(時) 462 a 黃 b 珩 c 蕙黃 d 蕙珩 e 朱黃 f 衡 463 a 況 b 仿 c

c. On the other hand, Hū Shen quotes e., this h u e i (*g'wdd* f) 'embroidered in 5 colours' is etym. id. with a., meaning simply 'a combination, composition'. — As extensively discussed in Gloss 1321, the reading b. need not be pre-Han — it is very likely a correction after the paragraph Hua huei shī in Chouli. And in c. the h u e i a. does not stand for b. nor for f. but has its ordinary value, the Shu phr. properly being cut thus: g. = (All these various symbols) "are made and combined on the ancestral temple vases".

When Chu Tsün-sheng says b. is Kt for a. (f.) in various passages in the classics, whereas Cheng Hūan, followed by Tuan Yü-ts'ai, says *vice versa*, neither is conclusive. The two words are probably cognate, but they are not identical, each having its well-attested reading (*g'wəd* and *g'wdd* respectively).

467. h u e i (*g'wdd* a) 'to unite' etc. Kt for m e i (*mwəd* b) 'to wash the face' says Yang Shu-ta (Kin wen shuo) on the Ts'ai ts'i Yih inscr. phr. c.: "He made for himself the face-washing [vessel]". — There is a great confusion in regard to the char. b. As a place name (Ode 48) and also serving for a word 'faint light' (Yi: Kua 56) it is read Anc. *muqi*, i.e. Arch. *mwəd* (Lu Tê-ming). But Hū Shen (Shuowen) says b. means 'to wash the face', and both Lu Tê-ming and Yen Shī-ku assert that this was a Kt for h u e i (Anc. *xuqi*, Arch. *xwəd* d) 'to wash the face' occurring in Shu: Ku ming, which would mean that in this sense b. should be read *xwəd*, not *mwəd*. This T'ang-time speculation is very arbitrary, and there is no pre-Han text in which b. really means 'to wash the face'; we may thus leave Hū Shen's definition of b. aside. Be this as it may, there is still the possibility that in phr. c. Yang is right so far that *g'wdd* a. may be Kt for the *xwəd* d. of the Shu.

468. h u e i (*g'wdd* a) 'to unite' etc. Kt for k i a (*kap* b) 'cyclical character' — this would, acc. to Yü Yüe (K'ün king), have been Mao Heng's idea, when he in Ode 236 phr. c. defines a. by b.: "On the first day". Tuan Yü-ts'ai already suggests this, saying that a. "was similar in sound" to b. *kap* (the two being "shuang sheng", identical in initial). — Reject. It is cruel to tax poor Mao with such an idiocy. c. = "The morning of the encounter was clear and bright," see Gloss 788.

469. h u e i (*g'iwəd* a) 'kind; to favour' etc. is Kt for w e i (*giwəd* b) 'to say' in Shu: P'an Keng in the version of the Han stone classics phr. c., where the orthodox version has d.: "You say to me".

Referring to this sure case, Yü Sing-wu on Ode 258 phr. e. says a. is Kt for b., the phr. being equal to f.: "How can you call it peaceful". — Unnecessary. e. = (I look up to Heaven), "when will it kindly give us peace?"

Again, on Chuang: Wai wu phr. g. Yü Sing-wu says a. is Kt for b., whatever this may mean in this context. — Reject. g. = "To make [others] glad by means of kindness, is presumptuousness, it is a life-long shame". (When Ma Sü-lun proposes that h u a n / *xwän* 'to rejoice' here is Kt for h u a n / *g'wan* 'distress, anxious' — this is arbitrary and unnecessary).

470. h u e i (*g'iwəd* a) 'kind, to favour' Kt for w e i (*d̥iwər* b) the particle says Wen Yi-to on Ode 263 phr. c.: "You have scared, you have overawed those southern states." — Reject. c. = "Having shown your care, your solicitude, [go and] comfort those southern states".

Again, on Chuang: Wai wu phr. d. Chang Ping-lin says a. is Kt for b.: "To be conceited because of your happiness". — Reject, see our paragr. 469 above. — Several other authors have held the same opinion (e.g. Kuo Mo-jo: Kin wen ts'ung k'ao, Yang Shu ta: Kia wen). It is based on a curious gloss by Fu K'ien on Tso: Chao 26 phr. e.: "The eunuch Huei-ts'iang Yi-lei was the crown-prince's tutor". Fu says h u e i a. and y i f. are both f a s h e n g t s' i "initial particles", which is quite unreasonable. Tu Yü soberly takes the four characters as *nomen proprium*.

471. h u e i (g'iwəd a) 'kind, to favour' Kt for f e n (piwən b) 'to steam rice' says Yang Shu-ta on the Shu Kia-fu Kuei inscr. (Kün ku lu 1:3) phr. c.: "has made the Kuei for steamed rice". — Reject. It is doubtful whether the graph d. (with Sun Yi-jiang) is really a. or not. a. Kt for b. is, of course, phonetically excluded.

472. h u e i (g'wəd a) 'to break through the banks (a river), turbulent, violent' Kt for s u e i (dziwəd b) 'to achieve' say Tuan Yü-ts'ai and Ma Juei-ch'en on Ode 195 phr. c.: "Therefore they are not able to achieve it", and Ode 265 phr. d.: "The plants are not achieved and luxuriant"; this because Mao Heng in both cases defines a. by b., and probably meant a Kt. — Refuted in Gloss 579. In phr. c. g'wəd a. has its fundamental meaning: "They are not (rushing:) energetic in the achievement [of the work]". In phr. d. g'wəd a. is, with Cheng Hün, Kt for w e i, h u e i (giwəd e): "The plants are not numerous and luxuriant".

473. h u e i (g'wəd a) 'to break through the banks, turbulent, violent' Kt for h u e i (xiwǎr b) 'to blaze' says Yü Sing-wu on Mo: Fei-kung, hia phr. c.: "They (the rulers) burn their ancestral temples". — Reject. Wang Yin-chi had proposed to take a. as a scribe's error for d., an arbitrary text alteration. a. has here its own value, though generalized: "They burn and violate their ancestral temples".

474. h u e i, w e i (giwəd a) (Shuowen = 'porcupine', used for giwəd:) 'class, category, sort', this further Kt for h u e i (g'wád b) 'to unite, combine' etc. says Tuan Yü-ts'ai on Yi: Kua 11 phr. c.: "When one pulls up grass [one does it] together with its likes" (sc. other similar plants). Basing himself on Wang Pi, Lu Tê-ming says d.: "read giwəd, meaning e. category"; a. was certainly never read g'wád, as Tuan proposes. Moreover, the phr. c. has been given many different interpretations (see ap. Lu Tê-ming); thus, for instance, Cheng Hün says a. = f., whatever that may mean. The rigmarole in the Yi often defies analysis.

475. h u e i (g'war a) 'to revolve; go crookedly, deviate' Kt for w e i (giwar b) 'to go against, to err' says Wen Yi-to on Ode 208 phr. c.: "His virtue is not erring". — Unnecessary. c. = "His virtue is (not deflected:) without fault".

成名況乎諸侯 d 比 e 益 f 每下愈況 464 a 麾 b 邇 c 不麾蚤 d 快  
e 摩 f 摩壘而還 465 a 撫 b 宣 c 撫諫 d 揅 466 a 會 b 續 c 作會  
d 作續 e 作繪 f 繪 g 作會宗彝 467 a 會 b 沫 c 自作會 o d 類 468  
a 會 b 甲 c 會朝清明 469 a 惠 b 謂 c 爾惠朕 d 爾謂朕 e 曷惠其  
宰 f 何謂之宰 g 惠以歡為驚終身之醜 470 a 惠 b 惟唯 c 既敬既

476. h u e i (*χwər* a) 'snake-brood' Kt for h u e i (*g'wər* b) 'sick, exhausted' says Ho Yi-hang on Ode 3 phr. c.: "My horses are exhausted (sick)". — Uncertain whether a. is Kt for a homophonous h u e i (*χwər* d) 'sick' or for b., see Glosses 13 and 599. The words are certainly cognate.

477. h u e i (*χm̥i̯wər* a) 'rope' Kt for m e i (*m̥i̯ər* b) 'beautiful' (same word as c. and d.) says Chu Tsün-sheng on Shu: Yao (Shun) tien phr. e. and on Ode 223 phr. f. etc.; this because Pseudo-K'ung on phr. e. says a. = c. — Reject. a. 'rope' serves as Kt for several homophonous words: *χm̥i̯wər* 'good, fine'; *χm̥i̯wər* 'a flag, to signalize', etc., see Gram. Ser. Recensa. e. = "He carefully (signalized:) displayed the five rules" (see Gloss 1247). f. = "If the noble men have fine plans (principles)". The tradition is unanimous that a. always was read Anc. *χjwəi* (= Arch. *χm̥i̯wər*), never *m̥i̯ər*.

478. h u e i (*χjwər* a) 'to flame' Kt for h ü n (*χjwən* b) 'to smoke' says Sun Yi-jang on Mo: Pei t'i phr. c., which means small holes (loop-lights) in the city wall. In Ode 154 we find phr. d.: "We smoke out the rats". And here in Mo the name h ü n - s h u 'smoking-out-rats [holes]' is used for such small apertures. — Plausible.

479. h u e i (*χmwəg* a) 'to instruct' Kt for m o u (*mwəg* b) 'to consult, plan' says Wu Ta-ch'eng on the Wang-sun K'ien (Yi?) chē Chung phr. c. "the plans". — Plausible, since this obviously corresponds to the phr. d. in Ode 195. It should be observed that m e i (*mwəg* e) 'plum tree' is wr. f. in Ode 20, Han version.

When Yü Sing-wu would apply this also to Shu: Lo kao phr. g., this is unnecessary, see Gloss 1753. f. = "instructive words". — a. and b. were probably cognate words.

480. h u e i (*χmwəg* a) 'to instruct' Kt for m e i or m o u (*məg* or *mwəg* b) 'energetic, active' says Wang Kuo-wei on the Pu K'i Kuei inscr. phr. c.: "You have been active in your work". — Plausible. It corresponds to Ode 262 phr. d., the same meaning, see Gloss 262. The graph b. must have been an Arch. *məg* or *mwəg*, though it has been borrowed in later times for a synonymous word Anc. *m̥i̯wən*, modern m i n, see Glosses 866 and 1042.

When in the Kuo Ki Tsī po P'an inscr. we find a corresponding e., this w u (*m̥i̯wo* f) 'martial' cannot, as Kuo Mo-jo thinks, be the same as the *məg/mwəg* above. e. = "martial in your work", just as in the Shē (Yi?) Chung inscr. (Yang Shu-ta, Kin-wen p. 94) phr. g.

戒惠此南國 d 惠以歡為驚 e 寺人惠牆伊戾為太子內師 f 伊 471  
 a 惠 b 饋 c 作惠餼 d 舊 472 a 滑 b 遂 c 是用不滑于成 d 草不滑  
 淺 e 棠 473 a 滑 b 燬 c 燔潰其祖廟 d 燬 474 a 棠 b 會 c 拔茅茹  
 以其棠 d 音冒 e 類 f 勤 475 a 回 b 違 c 其德不回 476 a 虺 b 虺  
 c 戎馬虺隤 d 瘵 477 a 徽 b 媿 c 美 d 女敝 e 慎徽五典 f 君子有徽  
 猷 478 a 煇 b 熏 c 煇猷 d 熏鼠 479 a 誨 b 謀 c 誨猷 d 謀猷 e 梅  
 f 楫 g 誨言 480 a 誨 b 敏 c 肇誨于戎工 d 肇敏戎公 e 武于戎工  
 f 武 g 武于戎攻 481 a 悔 b 賄 c 賄在聘 d 悔在聘 482 a 昏昏 b

481. *h u e i* (*χmwæg* a) 'to regret' Kt for *h u e i* (*χwæg* b) 'gift' in Yili: P'ing li phr. c.: "The gifts depend on [those given by] the envoy", where the Ku-wen text, acc. to Cheng Hūan, has d.

482. *h u n* (*χmwən* a) 'dusk' etc. in its archaic graph Kt for *w e n* (*mīwən* b) 'to inquire' says Kuo Mo-jo on the Ch'en hou Yin tsī Twei inscr. phr. c.: "to go to audience and make [polite] inquiries with the feudal lords". — Plausible.

Again, Yang Shu-ta (Kin wen shuo p. 94) on the Shê (Yi?) Chung inscr. phr. d., corresponding to Ode 235 phr. e. "his good fame" says that *χmwən* a. is Kt for *w e n* (*mīwən* f) 'to hear; fame' (b. and f. are etym. the same word stem). — Plausible.

483. *h u n* (*χmwən* a) 'confused' etc. Kt for *m e n* (*mwən* b) 'sad' says Kao Yu on Lü: Pen sheng phr. c.: (Above there is the Son of Heaven but he is not proud) "below there is the common man, but he is not sad". — Possible, but it would be better to take a. to stand for the homophonous *h u n* (*χmwən* d) 'suffering, distress' (ex. in the Odes): c. = "but he is not distressed".

Again, on this phr. c. and on Yen-tsi: Wen shang phr. e. Yü Sing-wu says a. stands for *w e n* (*mīwən* f) 'to hear' since in the bronze inscriptions f. is frequently written g., so that a. and g. belong to the same Hs series. Wang Nien-sun had here in phr. e. said that a. is Kt for b., just as Kao Yu in phr. c. above. Yü's idea might do in phr. e.: "When [the state] King Ch'u heard [this], it became (grieved:) distressed". Yet here again it is just as simple to take a. to stand for d., *h u n - y u* making a good binome: "King Ch'u became (distressed-grieved:) distressed".

484. *h u n* (*g'wən* a) 'confused' etc. Kt for *y ü n* (*īwən* b), defined as = c. 'ample' in Shuowen, says Yü Yüe on Kyü: Chou yü, hia phr. d.: "Be amply generous toward the people". — The word b. is known from no text. Wei Chao defined a. here as = e. 'all together', which is a good explanation: *h u n* a. 'confusedly, mixed, indiscriminately': d. = "Be indiscriminately generous toward the people" (having no distinction between high and low).

485. *h u n* (*g'wən* a) 'confused' etc. Kt for *c h' u n* (*āiwən* b) 'to flow' in the sense of 'flowing' = 'chaotic', says Ma Sü-lun on Chuang: T'ien ti phr. c., which would be Kt for d. 'chaos'. — Reject. Ma seems to have had in mind on the one hand the binome *h u n - m a n g* e. (Chuang: Shan sing), on the other hand the binome *c h' u n - m a n g* f. of later times (Liu Tsung-yüan). But *h u n* a. and *c h' u n* b. are well distinguished words, e.g. in the binome *h u n - c h' u n* g. There is no reason whatever for tampering with Chuang's text. c. = "the (flowing:) chaotic obscurity".

486. *h u n*, *k u n* (*g'wən*, *kwən* a) 'cord; to fasten, to sew' Kt for *k' u n* (*k'wən* b) 'to bind' says Yü Sing-wu on Ode 128 phr. c.: "The bamboo laths are tied on". — Unnecessary. a. and b. are cognate words. c. = "The bamboo laths are tied with strings".

487. *h u n* (*g'wən* a) 'pig-sty, latrine' Kt for *h u a n* (*g'wan* b) 'grain-fed animal' says Tuan Yü-ts'ai after Lu Tê-ming on Li: Shao yi phr. c.: "The superior man

does not eat the entrails of grain-fed animals". Lu here follows Cheng Hsün's comm. — Possible, though not very convincing. c. could mean, without Kt: "The superior man does not eat unclean entrails".

488. h u n (*g'wən* a) 'chaotic' Kt for k u n (*kwən* b) 'to flow, to bubble' say the K'ang hi ts'i tien editors on Sün: Fu kuo phr. c.: "The goods are flowing like a spring"; this because Yang Liang defined a. as = d. In the same way when, on the one hand, Meng: Li Lou, hia has a phr. e.: "The spring flows on", Shuowen saying f. = 'amply-flowing', and, on the other hand, Shan hai king has a phr. g. "bubbling", Tuan Yü-ts'ai concludes that *g'wən* a. is Kt for f. and that this f. again in these contexts had an "ancient sound" k u n (*kwən*, i.e. = b.) — The word k u n (*kwən* b) 'to flow' is a fairly late word, unknown in pre-Han and Han texts. Ts'ie-yün reads f. *g'wən*, defined (after Shuowen) as = 'to flow', which holds good for phr. e.; and *g'wən* a. is Kt for this *g'wən* f. in phr. c. There is no support for a. or f. having ever been read *kwən*.

489. h u n g (*g'ung* a) 'wild-goose' Kt for c h' u n g (*t'jung* b) 'even, symmetrical, just' says Chang Ping-lin on Chouli: Ts'i-jen phr. c.: "With rounded body and (even, symmetrical:) well-proportioned" (sc. equally big in both ends). This is because Cheng Hsün defined a. here as = b. (this *t'jung* b. 'even, just' = d. occurs in Ode 191, one version, see Gloss 520, and Erya: Shi yen has b. = d.). Ho Yi-hang says a. and b. were s h e n g k i n "close to each other in sound", evidently already suggesting the Kt frankly expressed by Chang Ping-lin. Lu Tê-ming, however, has no sound gloss here on a., so there was no ancient tradition that a. should be read other than *g'ung*. In Gram. Ser. Rec. I had therefore registered: "a. 'wild-goose' Kt for a homophonous *g'ung* 'equal, symmetrical' (following Cheng). But there are no parallels for a. having such a meaning. It seems better (with Lin Hi-yi) to say that *g'ung* a. means 'great, large': c. = "With rounded body and large"; it is then Kt for h u n g (*g'ung* e) 'great' (see Gloss 1587).

Again, Chang Ping-lin proposes that a. is Kt for (b. =) y u n g (*djung* f.) in Shu: K'ang kao. There, for phr. g. Cheng Hsün's text version had h. Chang, accepting this, believes that h. (with a. Kt for f.) stands for i., whatever that may mean. — Reject. a. is here again Kt for the e. of the traditional text. Wu K'ai-sheng proposes, instead, that *g'ung* e. in phr. g. is Kt for k i a n g (*kong* j) 'to send down'; arbitrary and unconvincing.

問 c 潮(朝)昏者(餽)侯 d 需昏 e 令聞 f 聞 483 a 憎 b 悶 c 下為匹夫而不憎 d 瘡 e 荆楚憎憂 f 聞 g 解(賒) 484 a 混 b 憚 c 重厚 d 混厚民人 e 同 485 a 混 b 淳 c 混冥 d 淳芒(忘) e 混芒 f 淳茫 g 混淳 486 a 混 b 捆 c 竹閉混滕 487 a 園 b 泰 c 君子不食園腴 488 a 渾 b 滾 c 財貨渾渾如泉源 d 水流貌 e 原泉混混 f 混 g 渾渾泡泡 489 a 鴻 b 傭 c 搏身而鴻 d 均 e 洪 f 庸 g 乃洪大誥治 h 乃鴻大誥治 i 乃庸大誥治 j 降 490 a 鴻 b 蠶 c 鴻則離之 d 苦蠶蝦蟆也

490. *h u n g* (*g'ung* a) 'wild-goose' Kt for *l u n g* (*lung* b) 'frog, toad' says Wen Yi-to on Ode 43 phr. c.: "A frog fastened in it" (sc. the net). — Reject. The char. b. serves in the names of several animals, and *inter alia* the Kuang-ya has an entry d. But no texts are known having this *k' u - l u n g* 'frog', still less any with *l u n g* b. alone in that sense. c. = "A wild-goose fastened in it".

491. *h u n g* (*g'weng* a) 'gate' Kt for *h u a n g* (*g'wáng* b) 'august' says K'ung Ch'ao on Yi Chou shu: Huang men phr. c. — Unnecessary. a. occurs in the sense of 'gate' in various passages in Tso, and *h u n g - m e n* is a natural binome: "the Gate".

492. *h u n g* (*g'weng* a) 'great' Kt for *k u n g* (*kung* b) 'work' says Yü Sing-wu on Shu: Tsiu kao phr. c. — Yü asserts that a. and b. were homophonous (which is certainly wrong); and since the *h u n g - f u* corresponds to the "minister of works", he proposes this Kt. It is, however, quite unnecessary. *H u n g - f u* "the Great Man" was a fine title for this high functionary.

493. *h u n g* (*χmwəng* a) 'to die' Kt for *h u n g* (*g'weng* b) 'to fly' says Wang Sien-k'ien on Ode 5 phr. c.: (The wings of the locusts) "they are flying". — Declined in Gloss 19. c. = "they are numerous".

494. *h u o* (*g'wək* a) 'some' etc. Kt for *y u* (*g'üŋ* b) 'to have'. This is an idea that appears very early (Lü-lan, Si-ma Ts'ien, Mao Heng, Cheng Hsüan etc.), see Gloss 1453, and it has been fervently applied by recent authors (Sun Yi-jang, Kuo Mo-jo, Yü Sing-wu etc.) to a great many early texts and inscriptions. In most of these cases a. can very well have its ordinary reading and meaning: (in some way =) 'perchance', see Glosses 1453, 1828, 1836. The phonetic discrepancy, however, between a. and b. is less glaring if we keep in mind that the char. a. properly was *y ü* (*g'iwək*) 'territory', also wr. c., and that it only secondarily was used Kt for *g'wək* 'some'. In a few cases *g'iwək* c. has, in fact, been interpreted as Kt for *g'üŋ* b., but unconvincingly, see Glosses 304, 875. — When the epigraphists take a. as Kt for b., they often state (e.g. Sun Yi-jang on the Shao po Hu Kuei inscr.) that this *g'üŋ* b. again is equal to *g'üŋ* d. All this is exceedingly doubtful.

495. *h u o* (*g'wāk* a) 'to catch' Kt for *k u o* (*kwek* b) 'to cut ear of enemy' say Ma Juei-ch'en and Ch'en Huan on Ode 168 phr. c.: "The seized interrogandi and the eared ones are many". — Refuted in Gloss 438. c. = "We have seized prisoners for the question and caught a crowd".

496. *h u o* (*g'wāt* a) 'to live' Kt for *h u e i* (*g'wād* b) 'to unite' says Wen Yi-to on Ode 31 phr. c.: "You do not join me". — Unnecessary. c. = "You do not (keep me alive:) support me".

497. *h ü*, *k' ü* (*χio*, *k'io* a) 'empty; ruins' Kt for *k ü* (*kio* b) 'to dwell' says Yang Liang on Sün: Ta lüe phr. c.: "To dwell in what is not one's [proper] locality". — Wang Nien-sun (Tsa chī) says a. is simply a graphic error for *c h' u* d., which is more likely.

498. *h ü*, *k' ü* (*χio*, *k'io* a) 'empty; ruins' Kt for *s h u* (*šio* b) 'relaxed, slow' says Ma Juei-ch'en on Ode 41 phr. c. (in which d. is Kt for e.): "You are so dilatory, you are so slow". — Reject. There is no reason for not accepting the ancient interpr. "You are so (empty:) modest, you are so slow", see Gloss 114.



499. h ü (*χiō* a) 'to approve, allow, permit' Kt for c h' u (*t'io* b) 'to dwell; a place' says Tsün-sheng on Mo: Fei yüe, shang phr. c.: "In which place shall we use them?" Hung Yi-sün thinks that a. is Kt for s o (*şio* d) 'place'. — Reject. (The rulers exact duties for building chariots and boats, the people ask:) "How (when) shall we be permitted to use them?"

500. h ü (*χiō* a) 'to approve, allow, permit' Kt for y ü (*ngio* b), here in the sense of 'to bring forward, to present' say Ma Juei-ch'en and Ch'en Huan on Ode 243 phr. c.: "Brightly he comes and (brings himself forward:) advances". — Refuted in Gloss 858. c. = "Brightly he comes and is permitted (to continue in the footsteps of his ancestors)".

501. h ü (*χiuk* a) 'rising sun; bright, warm' Kt for h a o (*χóg* b) 'to love, to like, pleased' says Kuo P'o on Erya: Shī hün phr. c., since he (ap. Lu Tê-ming) reads a. *χóg*, evidently referring the Erya phr. c. to Ode 200 phr. d.: "The arrogant men are pleased". In gloss on Ode 34 Lu Tê-ming says that Shuowen and the Tsī-lin read a. like b. But the orthodox Shuowen versions do not say that a. is read like b. but that a. is read like h ü (*χiuk* e.), so probably Lu (or Tsī-lin?) has corrected the Shuowen text after Kuo's gloss on Erya. Whether Kuo really had a version f. in Ode 200, as the Ts'ing scholars conclude, is very uncertain. He may simply have tried, *à tout prix*, to connect his Erya entry with some famous classical text and concluded that Erya's h ü - h ü stands for Mao's h a o h a o. This Kt speculation should be rejected. Cf. also paragr. 351 above.

502. h ü (*χiwët* a) 'moat' Kt for h ü (*χiwək* b) 'moat' says Lu Tê-ming on Ode 244 phr. c., Han version (ap. Lu). — From Lu onwards a. has been read like b. in the Chinese dictionaries. This is erroneous, see Gloss 859.

503. h ü (*χiök* a) 'to rear' Kt for y ü (*dïök* b) 'to breed, to rear' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Li: K'ü li phr. c.: "Those who rear birds". The same says Ma Sū-lun on passages in Lao and Chuang. — Reject; 'to rear' is the primary meaning of *χiök* a., and there is not the slightest reason to believe that it was ever pronounced *dïök*.

504. h ü (*χiök* a) 'to rear' Kt for h ü (*χiu* b) 'warmth from the sun at dawn' (Shuowen; same word as c. in Li: Yüe ki) says Ma Sū-lun on Chuang: Sū Wu Kuei phr. d.: "Yao is warmly good". — Reject. d. = "Yao is (rearingly, nursingly:) cherishingly good".

491 a 閭 b 皇 c 閭門 492 a 宏 b 工 c 若保宏夫 493 a 薨 b 穉 c 薨  
薨兮 494 a 或 b 有 c 域 d 又 495 a 獲 b 馘 c 執訊獲醜 496 a  
496 a 活 b 會 c 不我活兮 497 a 虛 b 居 c 非其里而虛之 d 處 498  
a 虛 b 舒 c 其虛其邪 d 邪 e 徐 499 a 許 b 處 c 吾將惡許用之 d  
所 500 a 許 b 御 c 昭茲來許 501 旭 b 好 c 旭旭憐也 d 驕人好好  
e 勗 f 憐人旭旭 502 a 洳 b 澌 c 築城伊洳 503 a 畜 b 育 c 畜鳥  
者 504 a 畜 b 晦 c 煦 d 堯畜畜然仁 505 a 實 b 遠 c 于嗟實兮

505. *h ü a n* (*xiwan a*) 'distant' Kt for *y ü a n* (*giwǎn b*) 'distant' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Ode 32, Han version phr. c.: "Oh how eloigned". — Unnecessary. There are good proofs that there existed a word *xiwan a*. 'distant', which certainly never was read *giwǎn*, see Gloss 84.

506. *h ü a n* (*xiwan a*) 'sharp, quick, smart' Kt for *k' ü a n* (*g'iwǎn b*) 'beautiful' says Wang Nien-sun on Ode 96 phr. c. (Mao version): "You said that I was beautiful"; this because the Han version had *b*. inst. of Mao's *a*. — The Mao version is preferable, see Gloss 249. *c.* = "You said that I was smart". Thus Han's *b*. is Kt for Mao's *a*.

507. *h ü a n* (*xiwan a*) 'sharp, quick, smart' Kt for *k u a n* (*kwǎn b*) 'to see' says Yü Sing-wu on Sün: Jung ju phr. c. (said of the benevolent man's giving his teaching). Yü refers to Li: Hüe ki phr. d. "To become good by (watching each other:) good example is called rubbing in", and he says that *c.* stands for *e.*: "He rubs it in, he makes them see". Very far-fetched. — Wang Yin-chi on the same phr. c. says *a*. is Kt [for *h u a n* (*g'wan f*, within the same Hs series), but not in the ordinary sense of this char. but meaning 'to accumulate', since Fang yen 13 has an entry *g*. And in Sün: Ju hiao phr. h. "when it is greatly accumulated" *m i* has the same meaning. Thus *c.*: "He heaps it, he accumulates it". — Fang Yen is a Han-time work, and even the diligent Ts'ien Yi (Fang yen tsien shu) has not been able to support this entry by text examples (he refers to Tso where *f*. means *i*. 'to surround' a beleaguered city, i.e. "to mass troops"!). So Wang's interpr. lacks support. — The best interpr. seems still to be the old one given by Yang Liang, which defines *m i* as = 'slow' (text ex. in Ode 65) and gives *h ü a n a*. its ordinary meaning: 'quick'. *c.* = "He makes it (sc. his teaching) slow or he makes it quick" (acc. to the gifts of his listeners).

508. *h ü a n* (*g'iwǎn a*) 'dark, black' Kt for *y ü a n* (*giwǎn b*) 'distant' says Chu Tsün-sheng on the common (e.g. Tso Hi 28) phr. c.: "Remote descendants" (descendants in the 5th generation). Liu Hi (Shi ming) says *a*. is Kt for *h ü a n* (*g'iwǎn d*) 'distant' (a meaning of *d*. earliest attested in Huai-nan-tsü). — Both unnecessary. On Erya: Shi ts'in phr. c. Kuo P'o says *h ü a n a*. 'dark, obscure' has its proper meaning: "obscure descendant", one who's family ties with the ancestor are slight and obscure. — Plausible.

509. *h ü a n* (*g'iwǎn a*) 'bar passed through the ears of a Ting vessel for lifting' is sometimes read *k i u n g* (*kiweng*), same meaning, as mentioned by Lu Tê-ming (under Yi: Kua 50). It is then not a phonetic Kt but a "synonym Kt" for *k i u n g* (*kiweng b*) — see cat. E in our introductory chapter.

510. *h ü a n* (*g'iwǎn a*) 'troubled sight, to delude' Kt for *h ü a n* (*xiwǎn b*) 'to flutter the eyes, scared' says Chu Tsün-sheng on Chuang: Chi lo phr. c.: "The bird with scared eyes was unhappy". — *h ü a n a*. occurs in several Chuang passages, always given as Anc. *xiwǎn* (Arch. *g'iwǎn*) by Lu Tê-ming. *b*. occurs only once in Chuang: *d*, and there Lu reads it Anc. *xiwǎn* (Arch. *xiwǎn*). Kuang-yün, on the other hand, has a long row of readings for it, *inter alia*: *xiwǎn*. It seems possible that there was really only one Arch. word 'troubled sight, confused glances, scared looks' and,

this word being obsolete in T'ang time, the scholars were uncertain about its graphs and readings.

511. h ü e (*g'iwet* a) 'cave, pit' and h ü e (*xiwet* b) 'empty space' and y ü (*giwet* c) 'rapid flight' are all Kt for y ü (*giwet* d) 'to go awry, perverse' in Ode 95 phr. e. (Mao version), a. in the Ts'i version, b. and c. in the Han version, see Gloss 572. c. = "The counsels and plans are crooked and awry".

512. h ü e (*g'òk* a) 'to learn' Kt for k i a o (*kōg* b) 'to teach, instruct' says Kuo Mo-jo on the Tsing Kuei inscr. phr. c.: "I, Tsing, have taught untiredly". The context shows that Tsing was instructor of archery. — It would be more correct to say that *g'òk* a. stands for h i a o (*g'òg* d) 'to teach' (text ex. in Shu), within the same Hs series. a., d. and b. are, of course, closely cognate, aspects of the same word-stem.

Again, in the Shī Li Kuei inscr. (two vessels) Yang Shu-ta says a. is Kt for b., reading a line thus: e. But Kuo Mo-jo reads: f. The amusing fact is that either may be correct, for the lid of one of the two vessels has Yang's reading, the vessels themselves and the second lid have Kuo's reading!

513. h ü e (*g'òk* a) 'to learn' Kt for h i a o (*g'òg* b) 'to imitate, follow; to deliver, devote' etc. says Sun Yi-jang on the Ling Ting inscr. phr. c., taking h ü e - l i n g to stand for d. "to devote the life" (to be ready to sacrifice the life). Yang Shu-ta, still taking a. as Kt for b., punctuates after h ü e, taking the following Ling as the name of the inscriber, which is obviously right: "(Ling saluted and bowed down the head and said:) The little one will (devote himself =) do his best; Ling responsively proclaims the King's grace". — The Kt is not necessary: Kuo Mo-jo reads h ü e as it stands: "The little one will learn".

514. h ü e (*g'òk* a) 'to learn' or (variant:) h ü e (*g'òk* b) Kt for k u, h u, h u a (*kwat*, *g'wat*, *g'wet* c) says Ts'uei Chuan on Chuang: Siao yao yu phr. d. 'name of a bird', since he says: "a. is read e." — Reject. In Tso: Chao 17 we find the bird h u a - k i u (or k u-, h u- k i u) f.; the h ü e - k i u of Chuang and the h u a - k i u of Tso may be synonymous terms for one and the same bird, but *g'òk* is certainly no phonetic Kt for *g'wat* (or *kwat*, *g'wet*).

515. h ü n (*xiwən* a) 'to instruct' Kt for s ü n (*dziwən* b) 'docile' says Cheng Chung on Chouli: T'u-hün c. (in the table of the Ti kuan officers). Similarly, a. Kt

506 a 儻 (卷) c 謂我儻兮 507 a 儻 (觀) c 靡之儻之 d 相觀而善  
謂之摩 e 摩之觀之 f 還 g 還積也 h 大積靡 i 繞 508 a 玄 (遠) c  
玄孫 d 縣 509 a 鉉 (扁) 510 眩 (眴) c 烏乃眩視憂悲眴若 511 a  
穴 (泐) c 馵 (適) e 謀猶回適 512 a 學 (教) c 靜學無界 (數) d 學 e  
在先王小學女 (女) 教可吏 (使) f 在昔先王小學 汝教可使  
513 a 學 (效) c 小 [子] 迺學 命對揚王休 d 效命 514 a 學 (驚) c 驚

for *s h u n* (*d'iwən* d) 'to follow, obey' etc. says Cheng Hūan on Ode 269 phr. e. (Mao version; another version ap. Tso: Ai 26 had f.). Such Kt have been proposed by a great many scholars in later ages. — Reject. The graphs *c h' u a n* (*i'iwən* g) 'river' and *k' u n* (*k'wən* h) 'Earth' have been badly confused in the Hs series, but should be carefully distinguished, see under g., our paragr. 208 above. The strong contrast in initials make a Kt *xiwən* for a *dziwən* or a *d'iwən* highly dubious. 516. *h ü n* (*xiwən* a) 'to smoke, to perfume' Kt for *h i n* (*xiən* b) 'to smear with blood' see our paragr. 406 above.

517. *h ü n* (*xiwən* a) 'fragrant, perfume' etc. Kt for *h u n* (*xmwən* b) 'gate-keeper' says Huei Tung on Ode 194 phr. c. (Han, Lu, Ts'i versions). — Rejected in Gloss 564.

518. *h ü n* (*xiwən* a) 'fragrant, perfume' etc. Kt for *h u e i* (*xiwər* b) 'brightness' says Ma Sū-lun on Chuang: T'ien Tsī Fang phr. c.: "Brightly I have achieved my bodily shape". (Legge: "Clearly I am here a completed frame"). — The older commentators take *h ü n - j a n* to mean 'spontaneously', through the *k' i d*. 'breath, vital principle', without the action of external things. In fact, *a*. is etym. the same word as *h ü n* (*xiwən* e.) 'smoke, steam, vapour' (e. and a. being used interchangeably). This is very sophisticated. Chuang may have meant simply that the creation of the bodily form is something difficult to understand, vapour-like, misty: "(Mist-ily:) mysteriously I have achieved my bodily form".

d學樞 e滑 f鸛鳩 575a 訓 b訓 c土訓 d順 e四方其訓之 f順  
之 g川 h 𠂔 576a 薰薰 b覺 577a 薰 b聞 c薰膏 578a 薰 b燁  
c薰然其成形 d氣 c熏

# ANIMAL STYLES IN PREHISTORIC AND SHANG CHINA

BY

CHENG TÊ-K'UN

Among all the art forms created by man none is more popular and interesting than the animal style. We have in general a whole series of wonderful examples ranging from the Palaeolithic cave drawings to modern primitive works and in particular all the lively metal articles attributed to the northern nomads who scattered their remains in the steppe and desert zone stretching from Europe to China. The discovery of the nomadic art at the turn of the century brought about a whole library on the subject. We are familiar with such names as Minns of Cambridge (12<sup>1</sup>), Borovka of Leningrad (3) and Rostovtzeff of Yale (14). In his learned lectures delivered at Princeton in 1925, Rostovtzeff tried to bring the art of South Russia and China together. His thesis was soon championed by Andersson in Stockholm (1, 2), Salmony (15) and Egami and Mizuno in Tokyo (7) and a number of other scholars. Since then it was generally accepted that the animal elements which appeared on the Ordos bronzes in China came as an influence from the northern nomads who were better known to the Greeks as the Scythians.

In 1953 Professor Gordon Childe gave a talk to our Archaeological Society in Cambridge on the bronze implements of the Steppes of Central Asia. Sir Ellis Minns was in the chair. After the lecture, Sir Ellis produced a bronze knife similar to those on Pl X.5 — a common implement about seven inches long with a slightly curved cutting edge and a small animal head in the round at the end of the handle. Professor Childe accepted it as an Ordos bronze, but Sir Ellis said that when he first bought it in the early 1920s it was taken for granted to be a Han artifact of the first century A.D. In the 30s when the Ordos bronzes came to light it was promoted to the Late Chou period in the fourth and third centuries B.C. And, now, with the publication of the Shang excavations he would not hesitate to label it as the fourteenth century B.C.

Sir Ellis' story has indeed touched a sore spot of the scholars who ventured into the Chinese field. Modern archaeology was started in China because the introduction of modern scientific ideas and methods in the last century had dealt a severe blow to the traditional scholarship. Many scholars resorted naturally to archaeology and much has been accomplished in the past few decades. I propose to discuss in this paper some pre-Ordos animal styles which are abundantly represented in Prehistoric and Shang art.

The beginnings of art in China are still enveloped in the mist of centuries. The earliest stage of artistic activity we know so far may be found in the Late Neolithic period when the Proto-Chinese lived in agricultural settlements and their utensils

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<sup>1</sup>) See Bibliography.

were decorated with some geometric designs. This type of artistic expression reached its climax towards the end of the period when a rich variety of painted pottery flourished on the loess highlands of North China. The designs on these prehistoric pottery vessels range from a few simple lines, straight or curved, to some elaborate compositions consisting of spirals, circles, crosses and other geometric motifs. They were painted on the curved surface of the pottery and the limited area of the decoration demanded a considerable amount of discipline in the execution. The painting shows that the prehistoric potter was also a competent master of this type of drawing and the works have occupied their rightful place in leading museums all over the world.

The painted pottery of neolithic China was, however, not entirely dominated by geometric motifs. Among the designs, there are occasionally some animal and anthropomorphic elements which were used either as major motifs or parts of the decorative patterns. Pl. II.1, a *p'an* basin from Pan-p'o-ts'un, Shensi, is decorated with a human head, which has a face painted like a Chinese classical actor wearing a headdress with three triangular projections. A similar one from the same site has a fish painted in the linear technique. The style seems to be better developed in Kansu where a number of these painted animal designs have been reported. Pl. I.1, another *p'an* basin, is decorated with a painted turtle as the main motif. Its head is slightly exaggerated showing the alertness of the eyes. Pl. I.4, a *shao* scoop has its handle painted into a human head. It is crude but realistic. Pl. I.5: The main motif here is a human figure which is so primitive that it reminds us of a sketch by a child.

In some cases the design was made by incising. Pl. II.2, a *wan* bowl from Hupei, has an incised animal mask which was crudely done when the paste was still soft. All these examples seem to suggest that the neolithic animal style was characterized by a primitive naturalism.

The same style prevailed also in neolithic sculpture. The animal head was probably the most popular form since various types have been reported. Pl. I.2, is a clay rattle with a ball inside and a hole on each side. It has a hand-modelled globular body with a long neck and a shapeless head which is detailed with eyes, nostrils and mouth. This came from Ma-chia-yao in Kansu and Andersson calls it a monkey. Pls. III.1 and III.2 are two examples from Ying-p'an-li in Kiangsi. The animal faces are tinged with slight characterization, one with two eyes and a mouth and the other with two eyes and a nose. In Shantung, the animal masks are depicted invariably with two eyes and a nose. Those reported from Ch'êng-tzu-yai (Pls. III.3, III.4) and Liang-ch'êng-chên (Pls. III.5 and IV.3) are common and it is interesting to note that some of the eyes are rendered more realistically by adding the eye ball and the eye lashes. There is no doubt that the neolithic Chinese attached some special significance to the use of the animal head, as we shall see later on.

Pl. III.3 shows a pottery head of a bird which formed the knob of a cover. It has only two details in the modelling: the beak, curved and pointed at the end, and the eyes which are two circular lumps of clay applied to the sides of the head.

Pl. IV.1 is a pottery human figure from Pu-chao-chai, Honan. It was hand-

modelled with a number of details as shown in the four views of the specimen. The eyes, nose, mouth and ears are all clearly defined. The body is long and the legs short. The striking features at the back are the hair knot and the pointed bottom. There seems to be a slight expression on the face.

Pl. IV.2, a bird from the same site, shows only two features, one at the beak and the other at the tail. The work is crude and irregular, resulting in a pitted, wrinkled surface, plain and undecorated. On the under side are three holes, used apparently for inserting wooden pins to serve as supports.

Andersson has reported three pottery human heads from Pan-shan, Kansu. One of these is reproduced on Pl. IV.4. This remarkable specimen is in the shape of a human head built on a more or less cylindrical neck which rests upon a disc with a serrated edge. The face is somewhat flat with three excavated holes for the eyes and mouth and a short ridge for the nose. It has no ears, but the horns are especially prominent and between them lies the head of a serpent, the body of which covers the neck at the back in graceful curves. Another detail is the bearded chin which, like other parts of the face and neck, is touched up with painted design.

From T'ai-yuan, Shansi, came the famous jade bird which is now in the Nelson Gallery of Art (Pl. VII.1). It is adapted from a block of stone into a roof-shaped figure over a small base. Since there is no perforation, it may be presumed that this sculpture stood upright as it is in the picture. The modelling has only two details, the eyes bulge and the slit of the beak is incised. Although it looks like a bird, some incline to think that it is a turtle with the head out of its shell.

Pl. III.8 is a small animal figure reported from Sha-kuo-t'un, Liaoning. Andersson thinks that it represents a cat whose forelegs are only suggested by thickening while the hind legs are better represented. The head is also slightly detailed with two circular depressions for the eyes and two slight projections for the ears. The body is curved slightly and pierced in the middle for suspension with a cord. The bottom has also a small circular depression. Professor Eduard Erkes insists on describing this figure as a tiger which is claimed to be the representation of a protective spirit.

Shih-chia-ho in Hupei has also produced two interesting pottery figures. Pl. V.2 is a bird with a big tail, and Pl. V.1 a human figure. The features and the pose of the latter, reminding us of Rodin's the *Thinker*, are all very natural, though the treatment is rather primitive. There is nothing abstract about these figures.

From all these examples excavated from the neolithic sites in North China, from Shantung to Kansu and from Liaoning to Hupei and Kiangsi, it seems clear that in this early stage of Chinese art, a common characteristic style prevailed. The object, pottery decoration or sculpture, is always rendered summarily to depict the form in a primitive fashion. For further details, linear painting or engraving was used and perforation and incision employed. The technique as a whole is primitive and the style naturalistic and so it may be described as primitive naturalism common to all ancient and primitive cultures all over the world.

There is no doubt that the Shang culture had its roots deep in the prehistoric past. The neolithic primitive naturalism set the style for the Shang artists and the

tradition was admirably followed in the Early and Middle Shang. In the earlier levels of Chêng-chou, animal forms in art have been found. They include crude pottery figures of tiger, sheep, fish and others. (Pl. V.3). Some bronzes and pottery vessels from the same period were decorated with animal masks, (Pl. XV.3), showing the beginning of the typical *t'ao-t'ieh* design, characterized by a flat animal face with two eye balls standing out in a relief higher than the rest of the design. It began to appear in all sorts of arrangement and combination, reaching its height in the Late Shang period.

The animal style of Late Shang was still dominated by primitive naturalism. It may be seen in every branch of art, pottery wares as well as stone, jade, bone and shell carvings. Pl. V.4 is a four-legged pottery vessel with an animal head as the handle. Pl. VI.1 is a jade bird with just a few details; Pl. VIII.1, a bone hair pin with a bird finial and Pl. VIII.3, a shell bird. They are hardly distinguishable from their neolithic prototypes (see also Pls. VI.5—9).

The development of arts and crafts in the Late Shang times required a large number of decorative patterns and new styles were soon introduced. One of these may be described as decorative realism since the animal forms were used chiefly to meet the demand for decoration and ornament. They range from simple to elaborate designs and practically all the known animals of the Shang times were incorporated into the repertory of Shang decorative art.

There was a great abundance and variety of faunistic remains in the Shang levels at Hsiao-t'un and in the oracle records recovered from the site. They indicate that the royal family and the warrior-nobility spent a considerable part of their time in the hunting of wild game. They also kept wild animals in captivity and many of these pets were buried with them in their graves. The whole tribal tradition must be responsible for the popularity of the animal style in art which began to be developed in various forms.

Decorative realism may be regarded as a step forward from primitive naturalism. The technique was better developed and there was a tendency to stress a more realistic presentation of the animals. Among the rich collections of Shang art objects and their profuse decorative patterns one occasionally finds representations of the human form, either complete or just the head. Most of them are so realistic that two racial types have been recognized. One is characterized by a broad face, a low forehead, wide-open eyes, a broad nose, a wide mouth and a short chin (Pls. III.6, X.1). Li Chi does not hesitate to call this a Melanesian. The other displays a completely different type with several outstanding features (Pl X.2). It has a longer face with a slightly higher forehead, slanting eyes with the mongolian folds, a higher nose, high cheek bones, a smaller mouth and a longer, pointed chin. It is described by Wu Shu-hsuan as Mongolian. There are also other figures whose features are not as clearly defined as these two types. They are all realistic in appearance and serve as decorative patterns.

The Shang artist was a keen observer of his fellow men and the animal life around him. He was ingenious in making use of all the indigenous creatures as subjects of his artistic expression. The most striking aspect is the presence of a large number of



horned animals which could be distinguished from one another. The list includes the deer, the buffalo, the ox, the goat, the sheep, the antelope and the rhinoceros. A few examples will be enough to convey the realistic quality of such Shang designs. Pl. XII.3, a *ch'i* tetrapod from An-yang, has an animal head as its main decor. It is evidently a portrait of a sika deer with the antlers in perfect symmetry giving a most naturalistic pose which reminds one of a trophy often displayed in a hunter's home. Realistically rendered, the motif is complete with eyes, ears, horns and the lower jaw. It appears eight times on the vessel, four on the body and four on the legs.

Pl. XII.2, a sister vessel of the one just mentioned, is decorated with the heads of a buffalo or ox. These types of animal were domesticated and were in close association with their masters at home, in the fields and in their ceremonial rites. In the decorative pattern they appear either whole or in parts. The head in this case is composed of two horns, one nose, two eyes and eyebrows, two ears and two tusks. Pl. XIV.2 is a *tsun* container in the shape of a buffalo, realistic in practically every detail including the marking of the horns. The horns of these cattle were often utilized in combination with the facial elements of other animals to create a rich variety of the t'ao-t'ieh masks which figured most prominently in the Shang art.

Pl. XIV.1, a *tsun* container in the shape of a rhinoceros, is most realistic. The bronze is simply cast in the shape of the animal with two horns and a massive body. With the reflection of light in its eyes, the animal stares like a living creature. The tiger may be represented by the Sumitomo *yu* wine-can (Pl. XIII.3), the elephant by the Hou-chia-chuang jade carving (Pl. VI.4) and the Freer bronze *ho* pot, the hare by the Mu-fei jade (Pl. VII. 2) and the dog by the handle of the cover of the Sumitomo wine-can. The head of the horse, however, was often rendered as the end of the handle of a knife or of the *pang* bow-fitting (Pls. X.3 and 5). In some cases the head was hollow.

The Shang artist's interest in animal forms was not confined to the mammalian group alone. Birds (Pls. XII.4, XVI.2), reptiles and dragons (Pls. VI.7—8, VIII.4, XV.1 and 4), insects and fish (Pls. VI.6 and 9) were all utilized as parts of the decorative pattern or as independent sculptures. They were reproduced in high or low relief, in silhouette or in the round. Many of these objects are known and although the arrangement of the pattern was somewhat standardized, especially in bronze decorations, they still indicate most clearly that an element of realism was present. These animals, either simply trimmed to show the outline of their shape or elaborately carved in the round, are all amazingly realistic in appearance. They are all representations of animals indigenous in Shang China and there are no extraneous elements as far as the undistorted pictures are concerned.

In the application of all these animal elements in the decoration of Shang objects and vessels, the design always shows a wonderful sense of the adaptation of the motifs to the decorative formulae and these formulae never seem to be in conflict with the shape of the vessel or object. The artist never lost sight of the function of the vessel and he always adapted his design to the shape which may either be the complicated form of a vessel or a simple disc, a weapon or a small piece of fitting.

The type of animal and the technique of execution may differ and change, but their function in decoration remained unaltered. It seems appropriate to call this style "decorative realism".

Decorative realism was but one branch of the Shang animal style. In the development of these natural elements as decoration the Shang art showed also a tendency to conventionalize them into simplified forms which were used more or less as independent units to be repeated on the vessel as the artist saw fit. Pl. XVI.1, a *ch'i* tetrapod from Hunan, is decorated with a human face on the four sides. The main decor is the human face in the shape of a disc and the pair of ears so stylized that they may be taken together with the other secondary elements which filled the spaces not covered by the mask. A large number of the Shang human faces on various types of objects are actually assemblages of these stylized features, two eyes, two eyebrows, a nose, a mouth and two ears wide apart, for the face. In most cases these individual elements were freely given their places according to the wish of the artist.

The conventionalization of the animal mask was even more advanced and elaborate. Many variations of the same theme may be seen on the vessels which appear on Pls. XI—XVI. They have been summarily described as *t'ao-t'ieh* which is merely an animal head with two horns, two eyebrows, two eyes, two ears, a nose and a mouth. Pl. XI, a *yu* wine-can, has not only a large mask for the body and a medium sized one for the cover but also a small type for the end of the curved handle. It is interesting to note, as in the animal mask on Pl. X.4, that the assemblage of these stylized elements were not necessarily placed in their right position. The nose, eyes and ears are relatively correct but the two horns are turned upside down.

The stylization of these decorative elements covers also all the other animal forms and they can easily be recognized each as an individual unit in any of the compositions. The *yu* on Pl. XI has a series of cicadas on the handle, a series of *k'uei* dragons on the rim of the cover, pairs of elephants on the neck and pairs of birds on the foot-rim. The deer *ch'i* on Pl. XII, has, in addition to the mask, pairs of walking birds on the body, rows of *k'uei* dragons under the mouth rim and cicada hanging blades on the legs. The *yu* wine-can on Pl. XIV.4 is decorated with rows of crouching deer on the vessel as well as on the cover. The simplified motif appears in this case sixteen times. On the *kuang* ewer, Pl. XIV.5, there are elephants, hares, birds, cicadas and dragons side by side and a number of animal masks. There are dragons and snakes on Pls. XIII.1, XV.1, XV.4 and tigers on Pls. III.6 and VII.3.

In a way all these simplified animal forms have become the vocabulary of the Shang artist and he was free to use them in whatever way he would like to decorate his ware. It is interesting to note that some of these simplified animal forms are mere drawings which were used in Shang writing and they are common characters appearing in the oracle script and bronze inscriptions of the same period. Pl. IX gives some of these written forms for fish, bird, bat, rooster, cicada, dragon, tiger, elephant, sheep, scorpion and others. These and many others may be regarded as radicals in the ancient script. And how many more characters were composed of these radicals and other elements!

Even the complicated motif like the *t'ao-t'ieh* mask could also be simplified or conventionalized into a symbol in writing. Pl. III.9 gives some of the characters which are merely drawings of a sheep's head. Those on the top row are composed of two horns and a nose each, but in the others, two eyes are added, making them more realistic. Those on the bottom row are the characters which we use nowadays. All these ancient symbols of writing are common characters drawn from the Shang oracle script, reading either as *yang* which means a sheep or goat, or as *hsiang*, meaning happiness or good luck. There is no doubt that all these characters were some simplified forms of the *t'ao-t'ieh* mask which was popular in art ever since the neolithic period. So the unusual way of adapting the animal mask as a decorative design in ancient China may simply signify good luck. It has been a characteristic expression of a typical Chinese mentality and many forms of the same character: *hsiang*, *chi-hsiang* and *ta chi-hsiang* as well as *fu*, *fu-kuei* and *ta fu-kuei* and many others have been developed throughout the ages. They simply mean "May we have good fortune", "We shall have great happiness" and so forth. Pl. I.3 is a Shang *li* tripod decorated on three sides, each with a head of a sheep over the cord-marked surface. They may no doubt be regarded also as a written character of the same period. This similarity in the written character and the decorative design substantiates the fact that the art of writing and the art of drawing in China have served ever since the very beginning similar practical and intellectual ends. They could be used interchangeably.

At the height of the development of the Shang animal art there arose yet another style which may be described as the composite animal. In the three styles mentioned above, the animals, large or small, ferocious or tame, as a whole or in parts, were represented in their natural shapes, with a tendency to use as many animal forms as possible in one composition and with each form adapted to take the space allocated to it. But the composite animal style was used both for forming the shape of a vessel and its decorative pattern. Pl. XIII.1., a *kuang* ewer appears with the body in the form of a bird at one end and that of a tiger at the other. The bird is clearly portrayed by the two wings near the handle of the ewer and its head on the cover over it. The tiger has a ferocious head at the other end of the cover and its body forms parts of the vessel with the long tail and the hind leg on the front part of the vessel. The shape of the ewer is actually a combination of a tiger and an owl.

Pl. XII.1 is a *ho* pot with a cover in the shape of a human head. But the creature is not quite human since it has a pair of bottle-shaped horns on its head and the body takes the form of a serpent that coils around the body of the vessel and ends with a pointed tail just above the foot rim. It is a strange monster created by the Shang artist.

It was in this style that birds began to be covered with scales and snakes (Pl. XVI.3), and elephants had their bodies tattooed with eyes, eyebrows and horns (Pl. XVI.4) and a tiger and a human being would embrace each other (Pl. XIII.3). Dragons, the mythological animal, began to appear (Pls. VIII.4, XIII.2, XV.4) and figure prominently in various types of art, some with four legs, others with two or even one. Typical features of various types of animals and birds, reptiles

and insects, were freely fitted to each other to form some strange-looking monsters. The new movement had no rules and no restrictions, the artist was free to use his own imagination. It is impossible to identify these strange creations with any natural beings. The composite forms, especially those in bronze, were all ingenious in structure and charged with immense power. Their character and spirit are unmistakably and typically Shang.

The growth of such a dynamic style was a natural development. A closer examination of the artistic tradition reveals that there was much intermingling and crossing of the various types of Shang art. The artist was free to take advantage of all artistic achievements in every field. A potter would not hesitate to copy a masterpiece from bronze and his colleague in jade carving would be ready to reproduce a new piece of work from ivory. A bronze maker took pride in casting a copy of an elaborate piece of wood carving. There was nothing to stop these artists from bringing all these fruits of artistic experience into fusion. The climax was reached when the inlay art succeeded in reproducing attractive pieces of work that struck the bronze master's fancy.

The magnificence of the Shang inlay work is represented by some impressions of wood carving, inlaid material and lacquer which have been found in the royal tombs of Hsi-pei-kang at An-yang (Pl. VIII.5). The remains of a drum and its supporting frame were made of wood, inlaid with pieces of mother-of-pearl. The discovery shows that Shang wood carving was developed side by side with the shell industry. The inlay technique was introduced when the two arts joined force in artistic production. Wood-carving provided the basic structure while the shell industry supplied the decorative elements. The mother-of-pearl was cut into individual units in the shapes of an eyebrow, an eyeball, an ear, a horn, a nose, a jaw with teeth or a tooth by itself and so forth. With the help of lacquer these individual units were assembled on the wood-work in various types of composition. Many of these units are known in public and private collections. Detached from their original objects, they may mean anything but when discovered *in situ*, the pieces are connected with each other to form the decorative design. With a large number of these pieces Bishop White has assembled a mask, as reproduced in Pl. VIII.2.

The assembling technique was invented by the Shang artist and it soon became popular that decorative units like these were also made of stone, jade, bone and other materials. Inlay work when it first appeared must have made a strong impression on its patrons as well as on artists in other fields. The bronze master attained the final, highest achievement when in the imitation of inlay works he pieced together parts of different animals to form the composite creature, a most conspicuous and unique feature of Shang art. Most of the masterpieces of Shang bronzes are in this style.

The great abundance of Shang art objects recovered in recent years show that the artistic activity reached a very high stage of perfection in this period. The four distinctive styles in animal art, namely, primitive naturalism, decorative realism, simplified stylization and composite animal forms, were all properly explored and their success has indeed set the ways for the development in the following dynasties.

The animal art of the Shang period has so strongly influenced the art of the later periods that the principles of the Shang styles continued to be the main stream of Chinese art ever since.

The style of primitive naturalism has always been active especially in rural works or folk art. Decorative realism deals with natural forms which include at first only those of animals but as time goes on plant forms, as well as inanimate objects, such as rocks, mountains, water, clouds and fire. The later artistic evolution followed almost exactly what the Shang artist had practised centuries earlier. All these natural objects became in time stylized or simplified into type-forms or conventionalized symbols and used by the artist more or less as his vocabulary. They did not hesitate to combine any of these elements into composite or elaborate compositions. The Chinese art of later times is full of these composite elements. The fabulous creatures like the *lung* dragon, the *jêng-huang* phoenix, the *ch'i-lin* unicorn, the *fu-shang*, the *ssu-ning* deities and a large number of fanciful compositions which the artists have created bear witness to the fact that the principles laid down by the Shang artist have been followed faithfully. These monstrous and mythological compositions which they have created must have given them real delight and provided the impulse to drive them on to perfect their workmanship. They were quite satisfied to leave to posterity many possible interpretations of what they had created. It is important to observe that the elementary materials with which these artists worked were all taken from life. There is really nothing fanciful as far as the elements are concerned. The motifs or type-forms may be treated realistically or conventionally, but there is always much free and realistic renderings of animals and other forms of nature, indicating that the Shang artists and craftsmen always went direct to nature for inspiration. There is yet no evidence to conclude that the ancient artists had received any direct influence from abroad.

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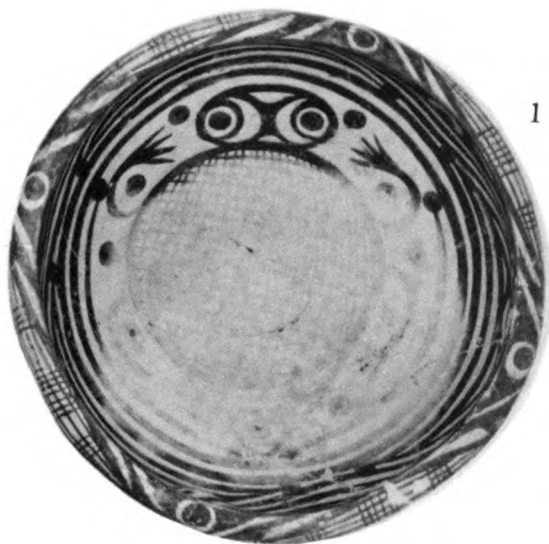
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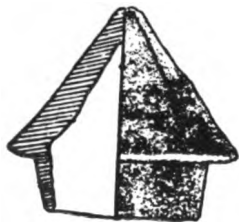


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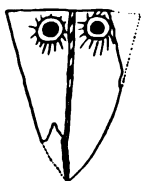
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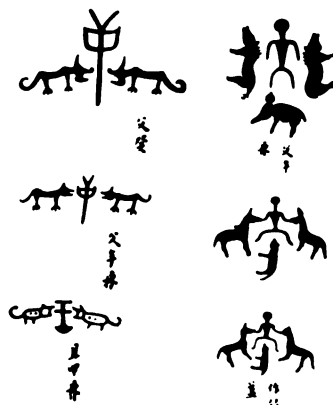
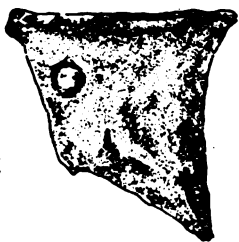
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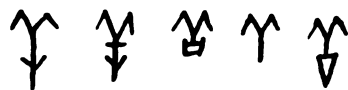
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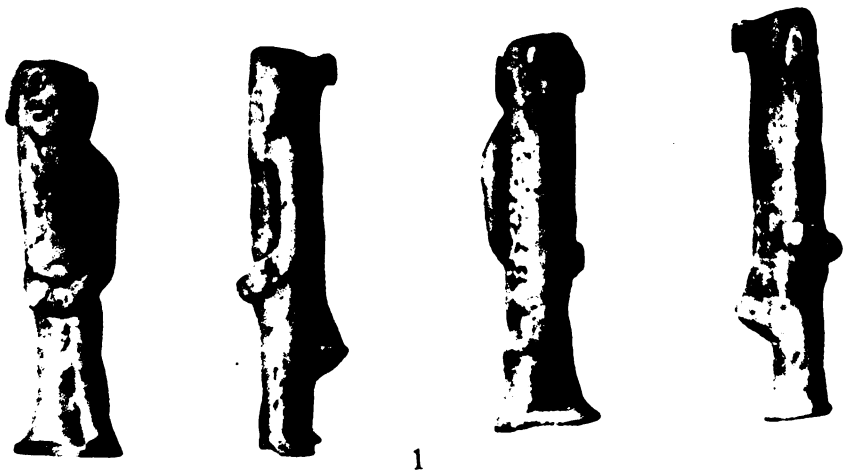


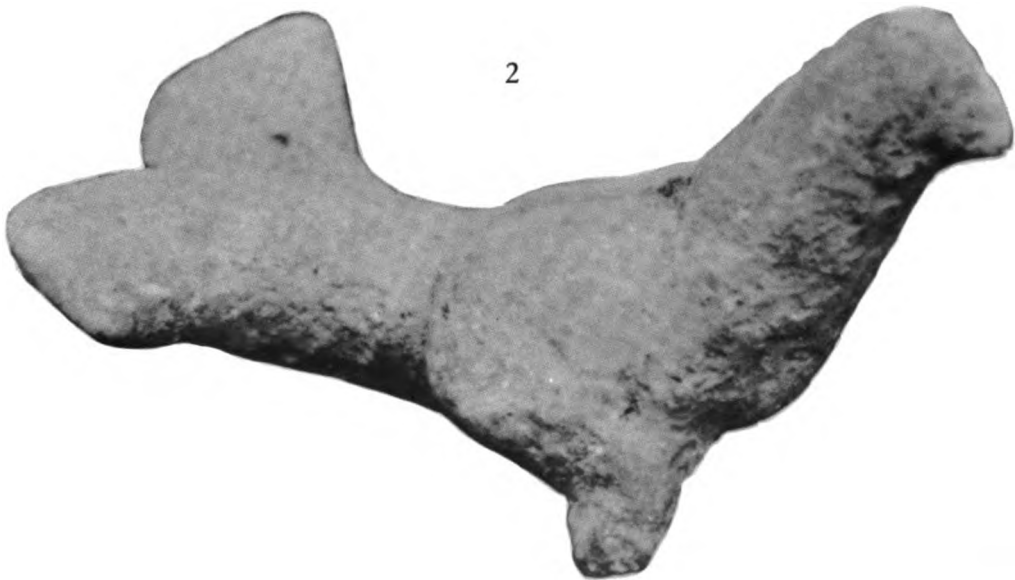
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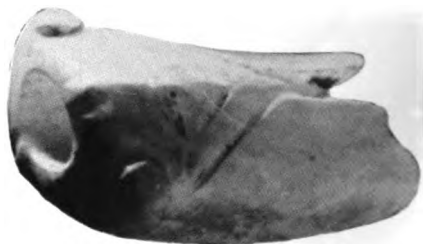
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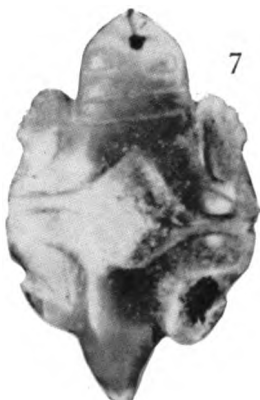
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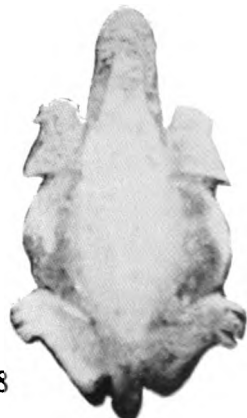
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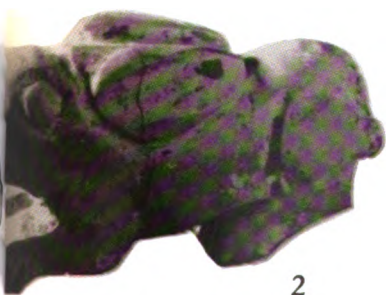


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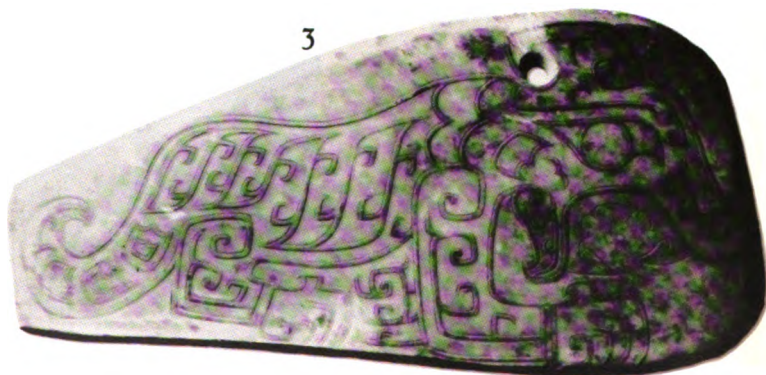




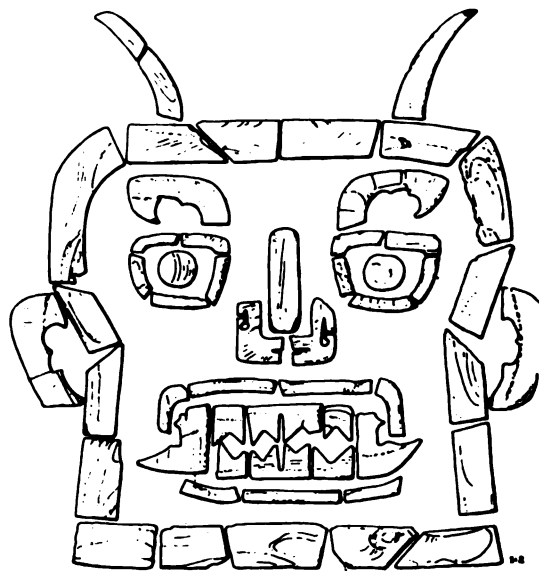
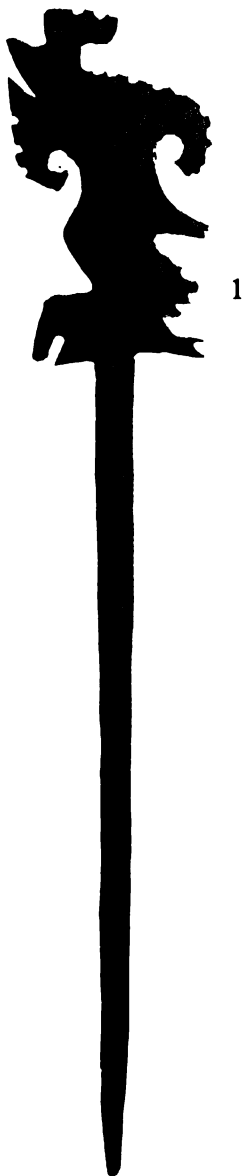
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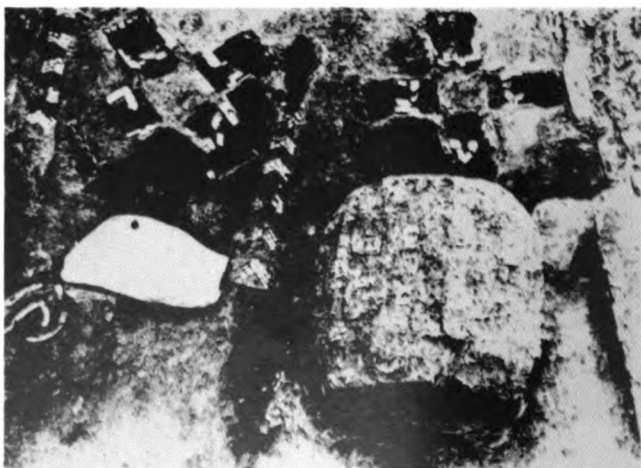
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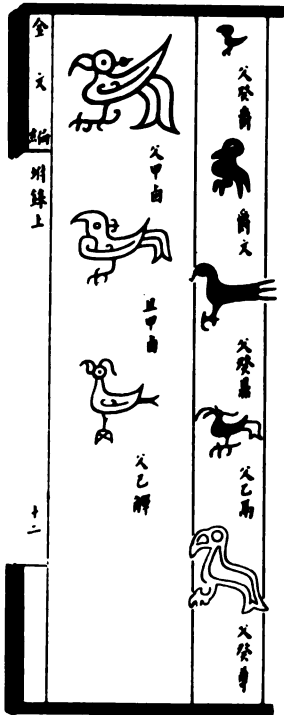
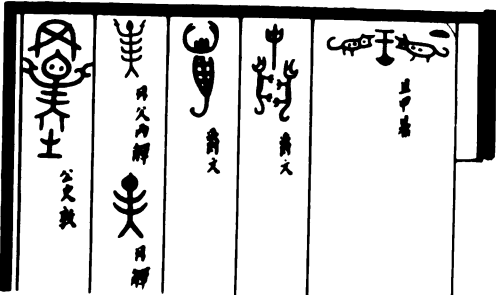
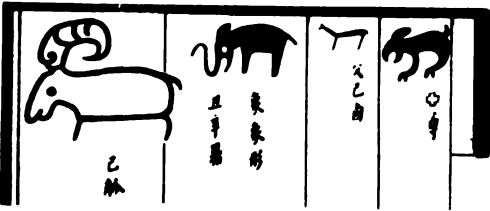
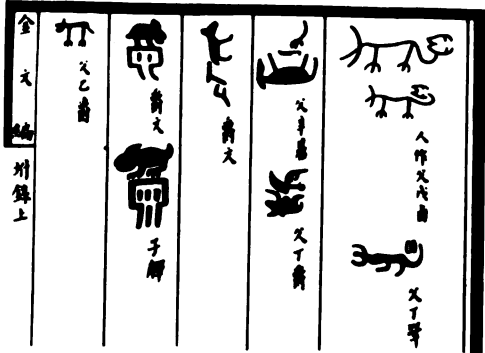
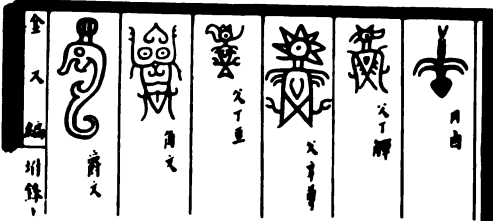
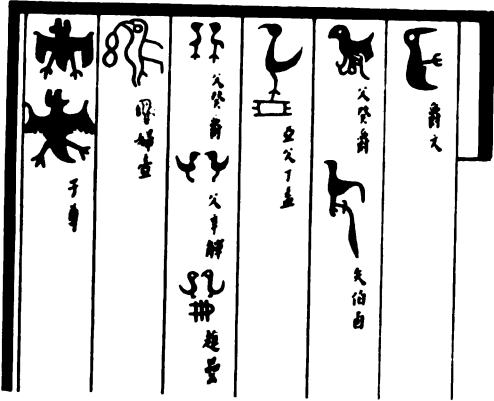
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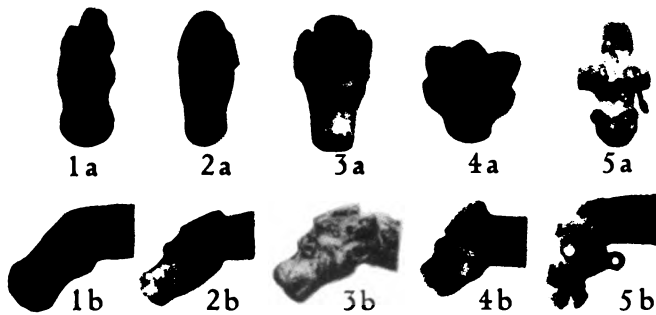


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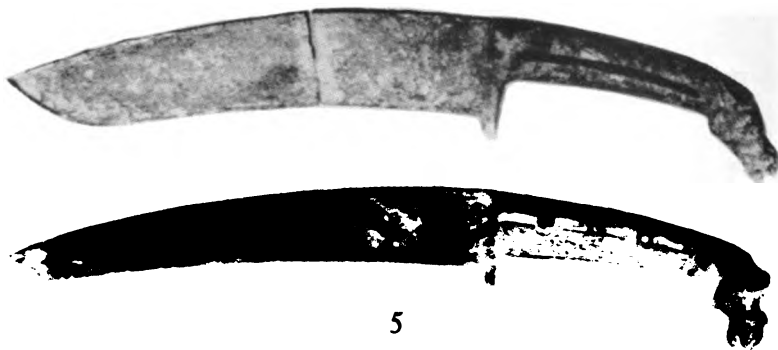








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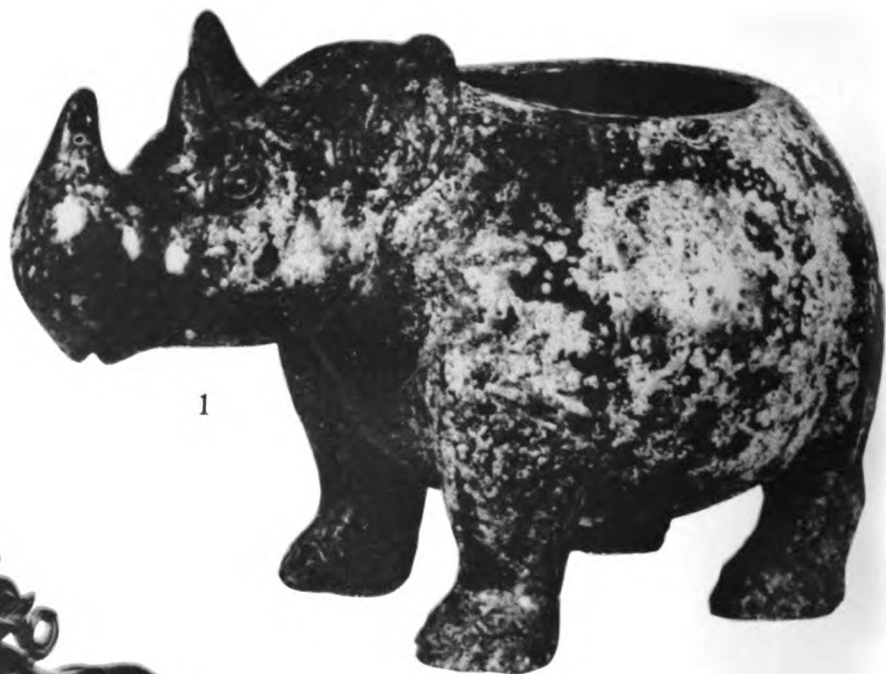
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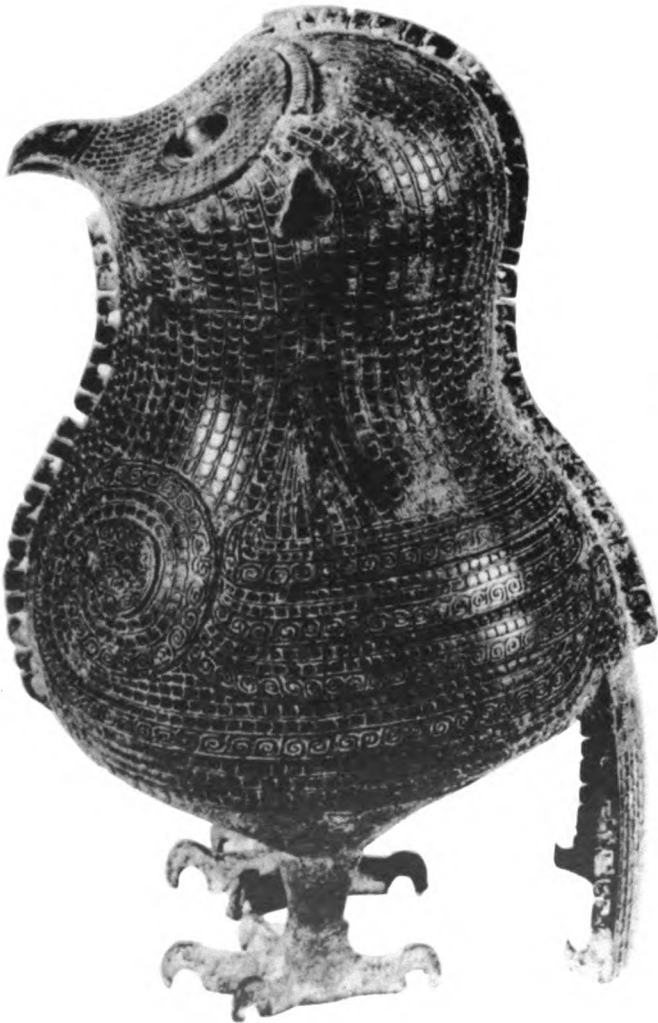




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# THE PAZYRYK FELT SCREEN AND THE BARBARIAN CAPTIVITY OF TS'AI WÊN CHI

蔡文姬

BY

JOHN F. HASKINS

Ts'ai Yen was the "household name" of Ts'ai Wên Chi, often referred to as "the Lady" Wên Chi. She was a daughter of the poet-scholar and historian Ts'ai Yung (called *Pai Chieh*), who lived *ca.* A.D. 133—A.D. 192.<sup>1)</sup> Like her father, Wên Chi was a musician of note and a poet. She was betrothed to a man named Wei Chung,<sup>2)</sup> and while on route to her marriage (*ca.* A.D. 194—A.D. 195), she was made prisoner by the *Nan Hsiung-nu* (Southern Huns?) during their invasion of Shansi and detained by the *Tso Hsien Wang* ("Commander-in-Chief of the Left Wing" of the *Hsiung-nu* army), who forced her to wife and had two sons by her.<sup>3)</sup> She was at length ransomed by the dictator Ts'ao Ts'ao after twelve years of captivity (some accounts say twenty years), for one thousand pieces of gold (other records state: "... A large ransom of gold and jade . . .").<sup>4)</sup> She was then given as a bride to the general, Tung Ssü. According to one version of the story at least, she was later to save his life. A long poem, in the form of a strophe of eighteen verses, entitled: *Hu-chia Shih-pa P'ai* ("Eighteen Refrains to a Barbarian Flute"), has always been associated with her name.<sup>5)</sup>

The romantic tale of the "Barbarian captivity of the Lady Wên Chi" has long been a favorite, not least because of the excellence of her own plaintive verses.<sup>6)</sup> They begin with an account of her abduction and rape by the *Hsiung-nu*, and her sadness at leaving her home in China. They end on a sorrowful note again, expressing the anguish of a mother who was forced to leave her half-barbarian children behind her on the Mongol Steppes.<sup>7)</sup> The refrains (*p'o*, pronounced *p'ai*), or verses, are written as a series of songs played on a Chinese lute (*ch'in*) to a barbarian flute (*hu-chia*).<sup>8)</sup> Each verse treats of some aspect of her captivity and her reaction to it, and together they give an excellent picture of the effect of the crude life of the steppe nomads on a Chinese lady of high station.<sup>9)</sup> Since the verses have formed the subject of a number of important paintings, both they and the works which illustrate them are worthy of careful attention.<sup>10)</sup> Despite the fact that Ts'ai Wên Chi was indisputably an historical figure and the story of her capture, detention, and release are recorded in the Dynastic Histories, much latter day criticism has expressed the opinion that the works attributed to her are not even Han, but of a much later date and could, therefore, not have been from the pen of Ts'ai Yen.<sup>11)</sup> Kuo Mo-jo, on the other hand, has on several occasions stated his belief that the verses are the lady's own and should be dated in the early III century A.D.<sup>12)</sup> Whoever the author may have been, the *Hu-chia Shih-pa P'ai* is a moving and beautiful poem. As will be discussed, material has recently come to light from

excavations in the Altai region which may prove that details of the paintings illustrating the captivity of Wên Chi show nomadic life with considerable accuracy.

The abduction of Ts'ai Wên Chi is said to have taken place during the second year *Hsing-p'ing* (A.D. 194—A.D. 195), of the reign of the imbecile Emperor of Later Han, Hsien-ti (also Min-ti, A.D. 190—A.D. 220).<sup>13</sup>) The chief Northern enemy of the Later Han at this time were the *Hsien-pi*. The *Hsiung-nu*, however, were still troublesome. The chieftain, or *Shan-yü*, of the *Hsiung-nu* at that time was Hu Ch'u-ch'üan (A.D. 195—A.D. 216).<sup>14</sup>) If it had been the sovereign of the entire *Hsiung-nu* horde who accepted Ts'ai Yen as his unwilling bride, her barbarian husband, then, would have been this same Hu Ch'u-ch'üan. The lady would thus have become the *Yên-chih*, or chief wife, of the *Hsiung-nu* ruler.<sup>15</sup>) Although technically vassals of the Chinese by this time, the *Hsiung-nu* captured the city of *P'ing-yang fu* (modern *Lin-fên* or *Fên-yang*), in Shansi, ca. A.D. 195. It is interesting to note that the reign years of the chieftain, Hu Ch'u-üan are the same as those of the captivity of the Lady Wên Chi.<sup>16</sup>) The lady nowhere mentions any of her husbands by name, however, and while she does use the term "Barbarian Chieftain" (HCSPP, II and VIII), it may be possible that there is an even more interesting story underlying the captivity of Ts'ai Wên Chi.<sup>17</sup>) This last, if accepted, would be in keeping with the character of the wily Ts'ao Ts'ao, who was responsible for the lady's ransom, and may have had a far-reaching effect on the political history of North China during the turbulent years that followed the fall of Han.<sup>18</sup>)

It may be well to examine briefly the order of battle of the *Hsiung-nu* armies, as far as this is possible. As was the case with the Turco-Tatar, or Turco-Mongol hordes, as well as the later Mongols, the *Hsiung-nu* cavalry was divided into three elements: Left, right, and center.<sup>19</sup>) In common with the Chinese, the *Hsiung-nu* regarded South as the favored direction, and after this left, or East, and then right, or West.<sup>20</sup>) The three divisions of the army each had its own commander.<sup>21</sup>) The *Shan-yü*, or chieftain himself, presumably led the center, while the left and right wings were under a semi-independent command. The commander of the left outranked the commander of the right, and the former served as a chief-of-staff, or second-in-command, in councils.<sup>22</sup>) The Chinese knew these military titles as *Tso Hsien Wang*, "Commander-in-Chief of the Left", and *Yu Hsien Wang*, "Commander-in-Chief of the Right".<sup>23</sup>) The use of the term *Wang*, or "prince", in this context might lead to the supposition that there was a family connection, as there no doubt was in some instances.<sup>24</sup>)

The Chinese Histories definitely stated that the Lady Wên Chi was taken by the *Tso Hsien Wang*, or "Commander-in-Chief of the Left (Wing)", and it was the *Tso Hsien Wang* of the *Nan* (Southern) *Hsiung-nu* who invested *P'ing-yang fu* in A.D. 194—195, and established a barbarian rule in China.<sup>25</sup>) It would seem that the "barbarian lord" of Ts'ai Wên Chi was — not the *Shan-yü*, Hu Ch'u-ch'üan — but his chief-of-staff, the Commander-in-Chief of the Left (Eastern Wing) of the *Nan Hsiung-nu* armies.

A glance at the "royal" succession of the *Hsiung-nu* of the period will show more that is of interest in unravelling the story of Wên Chi. Unpopular, because

he had been "enthroned" by the Chinese, the former *Shan-yü*, or chieftain, Ch'iang Ch'ü (ca. 179—187), was deposed and presumably killed. He was followed by Yü Fu-lo (ca. 187—188), who had been the *Yu Hsien Wang*, "Commander-in-Chief of the Right" (Western Wing) ca. A.D. 186—187, and who ruled for only a year.<sup>28</sup>) Yü Fu-lo was followed in turn by his son, T'ê-chih-shih Chu-hou (ca. A.D. 188—195), who preceded Hu Ch'u-ch'üan (ca. A.D. 195—216). After the conquest of *P'ing-yang*, ca. A.D. 195, Hu Ch'u-ch'üan took the family name of Liu, which had been that of the founder of *Ch'ien* (or Early) Han in 206 B.C.<sup>27</sup>) Before his death in A.D. 188, Yü Fu-lo had named his grandson as *Tso Hsien Wang*, "Commander-in-Chief of the Left", a position he would seem to have held until A.D. 195. In A.D. 216, the latter came to the *Hsiung-nu* "throne" as Liu Pao (ca. A.D. 216—A.D. 278), and this would seem to be the crux of the story.<sup>28</sup>)

Liu Pao, the former *Tso Hsien Wang* of the *Nan Hsiung-nu*, and later the *Shan-yü*, may very well have been the barbarian husband of Ts'ai Wên Chi from ca. A.D. 195—A.D. 216, during her captivity in Mongolia. Liu Pao ruled for sixty two years, and assuming that he had been old enough to command troops, and to carry off a Chinese bride in A.D. 195, would mean that he was probably in his eighties when he died. One of his sons (or a grandson, the record is not clear) was Liu Yüan, the founder of the kingdom of *Ch'ien Chao*, the first of the two *Hsiung-nu* "infiltration" dynasties (ca. A.D. 304—A.D. 352), which ruled as *Pei Han*.<sup>29</sup>) If Liu Yüan were a grandson of Liu Pao, it is quite possible that one of the half-barbarian, half-Chinese sons of Lady Ts'ai Wên Chi was the father of an Emperor of China.<sup>30</sup>)

The rise of Liu Pao to the *Hsiung-nu* "throne" is equally interesting. Hu Ch'u-ch'üan was not a son, but a younger brother, of his predecessor, T'ê-chih-shih Chu-hou. Then, Liu Pao, who had been *Tso Hsien Wang* in A.D. 195, and who should, therefore, have been as "crown prince" in line for the succession at this time, does not appear as the *Shan-yü* until twelve years later, in A.D. 216. His accession to the "throne" exactly coincides with the date of the release of his captive bride, the Lady Wên Chi. It is just possible that there was a connection between the two events.

The dictator, Ts'ao Ts'ao (also Mêng Tê), a man of obscure beginnings — even the date of his birth is unknown — died ca. A.D. 220 of a brain tumor after having made himself virtual ruler of China.<sup>31</sup>) His rapid rise to power and his undoubted military and diplomatic skill soon made him a hero, whose exploits became one of the bases for the romances of the "Three Kingdoms", *San Kuo*, the so-called "Arthurian" period of Chinese history. He came to power as an army commander ca. A.D. 184 during the reign of the unfortunate Emperor, Han Ling-ti (A.D. 168—A.D. 185). During the wars with the *Nan Hsiung-nu* (ca. A.D. 194—A.D. 195), he was named "Generalissimo of the Empire", and ca. A.D. 213 he assumed the title of "Grand Duke of Wei". Shortly thereafter, he deposed the reigning Empress, subjecting her to many indignities, and proclaimed his daughter (an incumbent of the imperial harem) as the rightful Empress of China. About A.D. 216, a critical date, he took royal privileges with the title of "Prince of Wei". In A.D. 220 he died, and his son, Ts'ao P'ei, seized the throne, assumed royal titles

and proclaimed himself Emperor, establishing the Wei Dynasty.<sup>32</sup>) Had Ts'ao Ts'ao lived, the throne of Han might not have fallen as it did and the division of rule may not have occurred at all.

It has often been stated that Ts'ao Ts'ao was inspired to effect the release of the Lady Wên Chi from her captivity because he had been a friend of her father, Ts'ai Yung.<sup>33</sup>) This may in part have been the case, but why then wait so long? Ts'ai Yung died ca. A.D. 192, at least two or three years before his daughter was abducted. He was, of course, a famous poet, musician, and scholar, as was his daughter and these facts in addition to his friendship may have weighed heavily with Ts'ao Ts'ao. It is the coincidence of dates, far more than the reason for Ts'ao Ts'ao's actions, that is of interest. Assuming Wên Chi to have languished in the crude embrace of her barbarian lord for twelve years of exile, the date of her release would have been somewhere between A.D. 215 and A.D. 216. This was the year of change in the dynastic succession of the *Hsiung-nu* and about the time that Ts'ao Ts'ao assumed royal prerogatives. As "Prince of Wei", Regent, and father of the Empress he presumably also gained access to the imperial treasury. The *Hou Han-shu* ("History of the Later Han Dynasty") stated that: "... *Nai ch'ien shih ch'ê i chin-pi shu chih* (/he/ also sent a gold treasure as ransom to procure her release) ...".<sup>34</sup>) In her own work, Ts'ai Yên stated: "... *Ch'ien ch'ien-chin hsi, shu ch'ieh-shên* (/They/ sent a thousand /pieces of/ gold, *hsi-i-i*, to ransom this concubine. ...".<sup>35</sup>) Whatever the actual sum may have been, we are safe in assuming that it was considerable. It may be that Ts'ao Ts'ao was influenced by motives other than friendship for the daughter of an old friend. For A.D. 216 was also the year during which the wars between the Han and the *Nan Hsiung-nu* came to an end.

Ts'ai Wên Chi was abducted in the second year *Hsing-p'ing* (A.D. 194—A.D. 195) by the Commander-in-Chief of the Left, Liu Pao. She bore her husband two children during a twelve year captivity. She was released during the year A.D. 215—216 upon payment by Ts'ao Ts'ao of a large gold treasure as ransom. During the whole of her captivity the Han and the *Hsiung-nu* were at war.<sup>36</sup>) We can deduce this from Wên Chi's poem (*HCSPP*, I, II, III, V, VII, X, and XIII).<sup>37</sup>) Upon her release, she was forced to leave her half-barbarian children behind her. Nowhere in her verses does Wên Chi suggest that she was held in a Chinese city such as *P'ing-yang* (mod. *Fên-yang*), or *Chin-yang* (mod. *T'ai-yüan*). Her stanzas, in fact, implicitly state that she was taken North, probably to the main *ordu*, or camp, of the *Nan Hsiung-nu* (*HCSPP*, all verses, except I, VII, and XIV).<sup>38</sup>) Then, in A.D. 216, as war temporarily ended between the Han and the *Hsiung-nu*, Ts'ai Wên Chi was ransomed, and there was an immediate change in the dynastic succession of barbarian *Shan-yü*. It should come as no surprise to find that it was Liu Pao, the abductor of the Lady Wên Chi, who probably received the ransom money, and became the chieftain of the *Nan Hsiung-nu* in the year of her release from captivity.

The Chinese Histories nowhere so state, but it would seem logical from this evidence to assume that the release of the Lady Wên Chi from her Mongolian captivity had as much to do with the Machiavellian politics of Ts'ao Ts'ao as it did

with friendship for her father. Liu Pao may have been quite frankly bribed to release Wên Chi and turn upon his great uncle, the chieftain, as a means of ending the twelve year struggle between the armies of Han and those of the *Hsiung-nu*.<sup>39</sup>) This is, of course, purely conjectural, but such a solution would seem to fit all the known facts. There is no record of a smashing military victory by the Han troops over the barbarian forces in A.D. 215—216. The *Hsiung-nu* armies were not equipped for long seige warfare, they had neither the discipline nor the matériel, preferring instead to rely on the "smash-and-grab" operations of their superb cavalry. The forces which were to result in the division of China four or five years later were already at work, so that Ts'ao Ts'ao's regency must have been under many pressures. Finally, there is the character of Ts'ao Ts'ao himself.<sup>40</sup>) For him to obtain the release of a lady, who was a famous poet and the daughter of one even more famous, was undoubtedly good propaganda. If by this means he could at the same time produce dissension in the ranks of the enemy, so much the better. This plan would seem to have worked. Ts'ai Wên Chi was borne away from China in A.D. 194/5 by the Commander-in-Chief of the Left Wing of the *Hsiung-nu* army.<sup>41</sup>) In A.D. 216, she was released and the former commander of the left became chieftain of the horde of the *Nan Hsiung-nu*. At the same time the border strife between China and the barbarians ended.

The Lady Wên Chi did not say where she was captured nor, except by inference, where she was taken.<sup>42</sup>) She did at one point, however, say that she "returned to *Ch'ang-an*" (*HCSPP*, XVIII).<sup>43</sup>) The event would appear to have taken place in the ancient prefecture of *Ch'ên-liu hsien* (near mod. *Chêng-chou*), in Honan Province.<sup>44</sup>) At one point, Tomita suggested that she was returned to *Ying-ch'uan*, South of *K'ai-fêng* in Honan.<sup>45</sup>) We will return to this in a later paragraph. According to Wên Chi's own words, she was not kept a prisoner in China, but was carried North to the *Hsiung-nu ordu*.<sup>46</sup>) The old encampment seems to have been located along the former course of the upper Orkhon river, near modern Oromboin Khure (Erdenitso, ancient *Chên*), about three hundred kilometres West of Ulan Bator.<sup>47</sup>) The Southern *Hsiung-nu*, however, were forced to the South, having been pushed out of Mongolia by the *Hsien-pi*. Their camp was in Chahar or Suiyüan, closer to the Great Wall, which Wên Chi indicated that she could see (*HCSPP*, X). She further stated that the barbarians moved about considerably (*HCSPP*, VII).<sup>48</sup>)

The Wên Chi story first appeared in the *Hou Han-shu*, and was repeated in the *Chin-shu* and the *Sung-shu*.<sup>49</sup>) No record of her poem, however, has come down to us in a form earlier than Southern Sung.<sup>50</sup>) It was included in an encyclopaedia by Chu Hsi, and then incorporated in a larger work by Li Hsien, which appeared ca. A.D. 1235.<sup>51</sup>) The authors stated that all earlier versions had been destroyed during the division of the country.<sup>52</sup>) At any rate, the poem, as well as the story seems to have had a long tradition behind it.

There is no record of the earliest appearance of the story of Wên Chi in painting.<sup>53</sup>) But it is reasonable to assume that it quickly became a favorite subject. Ts'ai Wên Chi herself was never mentioned as a painter, so that it is unlikely that she ever illustrated her own poem. Since the Sung period at least, however, there has

been a form of scroll painting which has come to be called the "Wên Chi scroll". This usually consists of eighteen scenes, each more or less in accord with one of the verses of the *Hu-chia Shih-pa P'ai*. One such scroll painting, an anonymous Ming copy of an earlier Sung version, has recently been published in China.<sup>54</sup>) The painting belongs to what is now the People's Museum in Nanking.<sup>55</sup>) Four scenes, illustrating verses three, six, thirteen, and eighteen of Ts'ai Yen's poem are shown here (Plates 1—4).<sup>56</sup>) For a long time, there has been another incomplete series in the Museum of Fine Arts, in Boston (Plates 5—8).<sup>57</sup>) The Boston scenes consist of four separate paintings which were probably cut out of a larger work, and which have been published on many occasions.<sup>58</sup>) Some years ago, Kojirō Tomita established the Boston Wên Chi paintings as anonymous works of the Sung period.<sup>59</sup>) There is no doubt that the paintings are genuine, and they illustrate the same verses as those selected from the Nanking scroll. They should accompany verses three, six, thirteen, and eighteen.<sup>60</sup>) The close, nearly exact, relationship between the Ming copy in Nanking and the Sung scroll in Boston, except for very minor details, is clearly to be seen. The four scenes from the Nanking painting might well have been traced from the Sung examples. Even if this should not prove to have been the case, it raises an interesting point. It is entirely possible that all of the existing Wên Chi scrolls go back to a now vanished original.

There would seem to have been three distinct types of Chinese paintings that illustrated the Wên Chi story. The first is what I have chosen to call the "standard" version, represented by the Nanking scroll, the Boston panels, and another complete scroll in a New York private collection. The latter is probably Northern Sung, contains all eighteen scenes with their accompanying verses, and agrees in most details with the Nanking Ming copy and the Boston panels. The second type is represented by the large hanging scroll from the former Palace Collection, now in Taiwan. This is a Southern Sung painting and has been attributed to Ch'ên Chü-chung (ca. 1205 A.D.), and was recently on view in several American cities. It is a form of a pastiche wherein two verses are illustrated simultaneously as one single scene (in this case, verses XII and XIII).<sup>61</sup>) The third type relates to the first in that it is a hand scroll, often with the verses separating the eighteen panels, but is a "caricature" in that the paintings are all in line, and the landscape or architectural details are either left out altogether or merely sketched in.<sup>62</sup>) This type is represented by a Yüan painting, a fragment of which appeared some time ago in a catalogue published in Tokyo. It shows two verses (XIV and XV).<sup>63</sup>) The Tokyo painting has been assigned to Nan-shan Ch'iao-yin, and shows Ts'ai Wên Chi saying goodbye to her sons while grooms pack the luggage that is to be carried back to China.<sup>64</sup>) There are at least two similar examples in this style in the Freer Gallery, in Washington, D.C., which may be Ming or slightly earlier.<sup>65</sup>)

It might be well at this point to examine the relevant verses of the *Hu-chia Shih-pa P'ai* which are illustrated by the two sets of four pictures:<sup>66</sup>)

### III

"I have left my beautiful country, China,  
"I have been taken to the camp of the Barbarians.  
"I have lost my family, and my body has been violated,  
"Better I had never been born!  
"My clothing is of coarse felts and furs  
"I substitute homesickness for appetite; but when I must eat —

"I can scarce force myself to swallow their rancid mutton.  
"Their leather drums beat all night,  
"Endlessly, until the break of bright dawn,  
"Hiding the roads and the walls of the camp.  
"Present sorrow and past regrets are the theme of my third refrain;  
"Desperate unhappiness gives me no respite, will it ever end?"

### VI

"Hoar-frost ices the prairies,  
"I suffer from the rigorous cold.  
"I am hungry, but when I think of their cheeses!  
"I can scarcely bring myself to eat them.  
"All through the night, I hear the beat of rain,  
"In the morning, outside the walls, I gaze at the flooded roads.  
"I dream of other days,  
"To which I cannot return.  
"The sixth refrain — sadness,  
"I cannot play anymore."

### XIII

"What shall I complain of now? I am setting out for home.  
"I hold my poor barbarian sons to me and bathe their clothes with tears.  
"The messenger comes and searches for me,  
"I gaze at the pack horses without heart.  
"I must cry no more, we will part now forever;  
"And you may not come with me!  
"We will leave at the break of day, my children, I must leave you.  
"Where can I find wings to send to bring you back?  
"Each step of the road seems longer, I can hardly force my feet to move,  
"My body is willing but my heart despairs, my love for you will last forever.  
"The thirteenth refrain beats quickly, but the sound is sad,  
"My heart is heavy, my spirit depressed, who understands my woe?"

### XVIII

"The barbarian flute belongs to the northern frontier,  
"I am more accustomed to the sounds of my lute.  
"The eighteenth refrain — and my song is ended,  
"But the echo resounds and memory is strong.  
"The beauties of music and of song,  
"Are the treasures of nature.  
"Joy and sadness are built upon one another,  
"Their shifting and changing make the song of our lives.

"China — and the barbarian land,  
 "Both are different in climate and habit.  
 "A mother and her abandoned children,  
 "Parted by the ends of the Earth.  
 "My feeling of sadness at my plight,  
 "Is greater than the limits of the Heavens.  
 "Of the six elements that make up the Universe,  
 "None can respond to my plaints!"

It will be seen that there is no direct link between the verses and the scenes that illustrate them. Scene number five in the Nanking scroll (not illustrated) would be better for verse six. Scene three does show a meal, and in scene thirteen Wên Chi may be seen bidding farewell to her sons.<sup>67)</sup> Scene eighteen is of her return to China, which she mentions in verses fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen, but not in eighteen.<sup>68)</sup> Of the eighteen panels in the Nanking scroll (and this seems to be standard), only a few are directly concerned with the story. Panel one depicts her abduction from a Chinese city, and in panel eighteen she is seen returning to the same courtyard.<sup>69)</sup> Panel two illustrates the march north, and panels fourteen through seventeen show the return march to China.<sup>70)</sup> The remaining eleven panels show various aspects of life in a Mongol camp; and it is these panels which are pertinent to this discussion. Each of the encampment scenes illustrates the *Hsiung-nu Ordu* in which a *yurt* is the prominent feature. It is interesting to note that several forms of tents are shown.<sup>71)</sup> The central *yurt* is a pavillion, with the sides lifted and a canopied portico or entryway. These were apparently all made of felt and supported by stakes and ropes, while the *yurt* itself consists of a felt cover over a light frame.<sup>72)</sup> Around the *yurt*, on at least three sides, forming a court or stockade, are a series of felt or cloth screens.<sup>73)</sup> These stand vertically and are supported by poles and guy ropes. They undoubtedly served as windscreens to shield the *yurt* and its occupants from the incessant blown sand of the northern desert.

In 1929, Michael Petrovich Griaznov and Sergei Ivanovich Rudenko opened the first of a series of eighteen *kurgans*, or tumuli, near the trading hamlet of Pazyryk in the Central Altai mountains.<sup>74)</sup> The first *kurgan* (K-1) proved, as did the others, to have been a tomb, the contents of which had been frozen shortly after interment and thus perfectly preserved.<sup>75)</sup> The ten horses buried there with all of their barbarian finery have been a subject of archaeological discussion for the past third of a century.<sup>76)</sup> After World War II, Sergei Rudenko led three campaigns of excavation at the Pazyryk site (1947—1949).<sup>77)</sup> During these years, his team opened seven more of the frozen graves. He began in 1947 with *kurgan* two (K-2), which contained the mutilated corpse of the famous "tattooed man" and that of his wife,<sup>78)</sup> and he brought his campaigns to a climax in 1948—1949 by the discovery of the unbelievably rich material in *kurgan* five (K-5).<sup>79)</sup> In addition to the embalmed, but not tattooed, corpses of a man and a woman and the bodies of five saddle horses and four draught horses, K-5 contained a number of imported objects.<sup>80)</sup> The latter proved to have been from Iran (probably) and China.<sup>81)</sup> Besides these imported objects there was much of local manufacture. Among indigenous products was one



which has received a good deal of attention during the past decade.<sup>83</sup>) This was a felt of truly heroic proportions.<sup>83</sup>) It measured about  $4.5 \times 6.5$  metres (approximately 14 feet  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches  $\times$  21 feet  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches).<sup>84</sup>) The felt was found in the horse pit wadded up on top of the corpses of the animals.<sup>85</sup>) When it was first discovered, it was listed as a "hanging", but the excavators now believe that it was used to shield the coffin during preparation of the burial.<sup>86</sup>)

The large felt was discovered to have several vertical rows of short horizontal bands sewn to the back. These would serve as loops through which long poles could be thrust in order to hold the material upright. The panel could then be supported by guy ropes exactly in the manner that such objects are shown in the Wên Chi scrolls. The Pazyryk screen (Pl. 9) is decorated with a scene which is repeated three times each on two registers. The motive is that of a horseman, mounted and facing to the left, who confronts an enthroned figure. The latter, facing to the right, holds one hand aloft while the other grasps a stylized plant or tree. The seated figure wears a long robe and a crown, and for this reason most scholars who have discussed the felt screen have stated that it represents "a mounted horseman appearing before a goddess".<sup>87</sup>) It has always struck me as odd, however, that the lady — if it indeed is a lady — should be bald.<sup>88</sup>) The two registers are separated by a band of decoration which is repeated at the top and bottom as borders. This consists of stylized lotus plants, set as a quatrefoil, which alternate with a stylized antler pattern in a square.<sup>89</sup>) The poles that held the screen vertical were topped by some of the most beautiful objects from the Pazyryk complex (see fig. 10). These consist of double layers of felt, cut and stuffed with deer's hair, forming full round sculptures that represent yellow-and-black swans. The birds were tied by the feet to the supporting poles.<sup>90</sup>)

There is no longer any doubt on the subject of the date for K-5 at Pazyryk. The tomb may be assigned with some precision to the mid-IV century B.C., that is, plus-or-minus 350 B.C.<sup>91</sup>) The identity of the people responsible for the "frozen tombs" of the Pazyryk Valley, however, is still debatable. Sergei Rudenko believed them to have been Scythians (or Saka).<sup>92</sup>) In other works, I have expressed the opinion that they may have been the "royal" tombs of the Massagetae — *Ta Yüeh-chih*, and probably, therefore, proto-Tokharian.<sup>93</sup>) For the present discussion the ethnic background of the Pazyryk peoples is unimportant. The main purpose is to establish the use to which the giant felt screen from K-5 was put. The great felt from the fifth *kurgan* undoubtedly served as a wind screen for a *yurt*, and several erected around the dwelling would form a felt "courtyard".<sup>94</sup>) Such an arrangement may explain the term "felt-city", *chan-ch'êng*, used by Pi Chung-yu, ca. 1055.<sup>95</sup>)

One can establish that such screens were used to shield a *yurt* in the mid-IV century B.C., from the Pazyryk example. They are seen in both the Boston Wên Chi scroll, a Sung example, and the Nanking Wên Chi scroll, a Ming copy that is nearly identical to the painting in Boston. It has been suggested that there may have been an early prototype for the Wên Chi story in painting, and one that would have been closer to the time of Wên Chi herself than any existing copy.<sup>96</sup>) It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that such an arrangement of felt screens was

used in the late II and early III centuries A.D., during the twelve year captivity of Ts'ai Wên Chi. This would tend to weaken a recent statement made by Kuo Mo-jo that all the details of Mongol life which are shown in artistic representations of the *Hu-chia Shih-pa P'ai* are imaginary.<sup>97)</sup>

There is one last note that may be of some interest. As was mentioned earlier, Tomita had stated that the Lady Wên Chi was returned to the city *Ying-ch'uan*, despite the fact that the lady herself had said that she "returned to *Ch'ang-an*" (*HCSPP*, XVIII).<sup>98)</sup> It will be noted that panel eighteen (fig. 4), of the Boston scroll, shows a banner hanging from the house in the foreground. A similar banner hangs from the same house in the Ming copy from Nanking (Pl. 8). It also appears in the first panel of the Nanking scroll (not illustrated).<sup>99)</sup> Neither of the panels in the Nanking copy bears an inscription, such as that to be observed on the Boston painting. The banner is inscribed with five characters, one of which is hidden by the eaves of the house. The other four characters say: "*Ying-ch'uan Ch'ên-chia*", for which I read: "The house (or family) of Ch'ên, at Ying-ch'uan". *Ch'ên*, or *Ch'ên-liu-hsien*, was the ancient name of a district in modern Honan province which centered around the contemporary city *Chêng-chou*.<sup>100)</sup> This would seem to have been the region near which the Lady Wên Chi was taken.<sup>101)</sup> The first panel in the Nanking scroll (not illustrated) is nearly identical with the last, except for the fact that the trees by the house are shown as young saplings, while the last (or eighteenth panel, Pl. 8) shows the trees as full grown — a nice touch.<sup>102)</sup> This would seem to indicate that the Lady Wên Chi was taken from her home, while her own verses imply that she was travelling (*HCSPP*, I). The buildings illustrated then may not have been meant as a family dwelling, but as an inn. It seems unlikely that the *Hsiung-nu* got as far South as *Ying-ch'uan* at the end of the Han period. They did not cross the river until the sack of *Lo-yang* in A.D. 313.<sup>103)</sup>

In conclusion it may be said that the Wên Chi scrolls do not always follow each stanza of the *Hu-chia Shih-pa P'ai*. They do appear, however, to be based on a single prototype which may have been quite early. The Pazyryk felt screen indicates that the method of sheltering a *yurt* in the two Wên Chi scrolls seen here was in use as early as the mid-IV century B.C., and probably had been so used long before that. It may therefore be assumed that the scenes of *Hsiung-nu* camp life illustrated in the Boston and Nanking paintings are accurate portrayals of the life of the northern nomads during the formation of the romantic period of *San-kuo*, the "Three Kingdoms".

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>) A portion of this paper was read as an address before a meeting of the *American Oriental Society* at Harvard University, in Cambridge, Mass., in the Spring of 1962. One of the most recent discussions of the life and works of Ts'ai Wên Chi is to be found in *Hu-chia Shih-pa P'ai; T'ao-lun chi* ("A Collection of Essays Concerning the 'Eighteen Refrains to a Barbarian Flute'"), published by *Chung-hua Shu-chū*, Peking (November 1959); hereafter: *HCSPP*'*T'LC*. This work contains the *Hu-chia Shih-pa P'ai* (*HCSPP*) and another poem entitled *Pei-fên Shih* ("An Ode of Angry Lament"), purported to be from the pen of Ts'ai Yen, together with twenty-nine essays on various aspects of the *HCSPP*. Several of the articles are by Kuo Mo-jo in some of which he reprints statements that he had previously published in his monograph *Ts'ai Wên Chi*, Peking (May 1959); hereafter *TWC*. The latter work contains eighteen plates, pp. 92–129, reproduced from a Wên Chi scroll of the Ming period now in the People's Museum of Art at Nanking (see here figs. 5–8). The story of Wên Chi is related in the *Hou Han-shu*, by Fan Yeh, Chapter 114, 5 a, as "*Tung Ssü Ch'ü-fu*" ("The Gloss on the wife of *Tung Ssü*", in the "History of the Later Han Dynasty"; hereafter *HHS*). This is reprinted in part by Kuo Mo-jo in *TWC*, 61. For biographical material in English see W. F. Meyers, *The Chinese Reader's Manual*, Shanghai (1874), no. 851, and no. 753; H. A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, London & Shanghai (1898), no. 1983; and TOMITA Kojirō, "Wên Chi's Captivity in Mongolia and her Return to China", *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, XXVI, No. 155 (Boston, June 1928), 40–45 (hereafter *Bul MFA*).

<sup>2</sup>) *HHS*, 114, 5 a. All accounts do not agree, some state that she was left a "childless widow" upon the death of Wei Chung.

<sup>3</sup>) *HHS*, 114, 5 a, *Cf. ante*, notes 17 through 41. See also T'an Ch'i-hsiang, "Ts'ai Wên Chi-ti shêng-p'ing chi ch'i tao-p'in" ("The life of Ts'ai Wên-chi and her writings"), *HCSPP*'*T'LC*, 238–254.

<sup>4</sup>) *HHS*, 114 5 a; and *cf. ante*, notes 34–35. The history definitely states "twelve years", but here *shih-êrh* may have been transposed as *êrh-shih* in later accounts.

<sup>5</sup>) Even the title of Wên Chi's poem presents a problem. Here, however, it is one of translation. *Hu-chia*, Mathews', *Chinese-English Dictionary*, no. 2167 (e) — 12, and no. 586, is given as a "whistle made of reed without holes for fingering", and "a whistle made by rolling up the leaf of a reed, used by the Tartars"; see also: W. Eberhard, "Lokalkulturen im alten China, Erster Teil, Die Lokalkulturen der Nordens und Westens", *T'oung Pao* (*T'ung Pao*), XXXVIII, Supplément (Leiden, 1942), 195–196; Ch. 17/2. *P'o* (usually pronounced *p'ai*), Mathews', *CED*, no. 4986, actually means "to beat", or "to strike". The title has been translated here as: "Eighteen Refrains to a Barbarian Flute". Florence Ayscough, "The Connection between Chinese Calligraphy, Poetry and Painting", *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Asiens* (*WBKKA*), Band VI (Wien, 1932), 37–59, particularly p. 56, may have been closer to the true meaning with: "Eighteen 'sweeping-of-the-cords' on hearing the Mongol flageolet", but this is rather cumbersome. She also illustrated (figs. 7–8, pp. 56–57) a detail from a Wên Chi scroll formerly in the Del Drago Collection, New York. Georges Margouliès, *Anthologie raisonnée de la littérature Chinoise*, Payot, Paris (1948), 267–274, gave "Dix-huit mesures chantées au corneet Hun". He has also reproduced the only complete translation of *HCSPP* in a Western European language. His translation, however, is poetic rather than literal in all cases. Ayscough, *WBKKA*, 1932, 56–57, has a very free "translation" of verse III. In neither case does the author cite the version used. For other translations of selections from *HCSPP* see Martha Davidson, *A List of Published Translations from Chinese into English, French, and German*, Part II (Poetry), tentative ed., American Council for Learned Societies, Far Eastern Publications, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. (1957), 211–214. Kuo Mo-jo reproduced three versions of the *HCSPP*, in *TWC*, 63–66, and 92–128, it appears again in *HCSPP*'*T'LC*, 265–269. The translations of verses III, VI, XIII, and XVIII which appear here are my own. I should like to thank the many scholars, too numerous to mention here by name, who have read my translations of Lady Wên Chi's lament; my debt to all of them, however, is very great for much advice and help. I should emphatically state that where mistakes occur in translation they are mine and not theirs.

<sup>6)</sup> For the publishing history of the *HCSPP* see Kuo Mo-jo, "T'an Ts'ai Wên Chi-ti (Hu chia Shih-pa P'ai)", *HCSPP'T'LC*, 1-10, and *TWC*, 67-73; and also Kuo Mo-jo, "Tsai-t'an Ts'ai Wên Chi-ti (Hu chia Shih-pa P'ai)", *HCSPP'T'LC*, 11-13 and *TWC*, 74-75 ("A discussion of Ts'ai Wên Chi's *HCSPP*", and "A further discussion of Ts'ai Wên Chi's *HCSPP*").

<sup>7)</sup> See Ts'ai Yen, *HCSPP*, the break occurs in verse XI.

<sup>8)</sup> *HCSPP*, last line: "My lute has taught the flute its first lesson, but who can know the pain I bear in my heart?"

<sup>9)</sup> *HCSPP*, particularly verses III, IV, VI, VII, X, XIV, and XVII.

<sup>10)</sup> Kuo Mo-jo, "P'o (Hu chia Shih-pa P'ai) Hua-ch'uan", *HCSPP'T'LC*, 255-256, and *TWC*, 129-132 ("Epilogue, the *HCSPP* as seen in art"); states the belief that "all scenes of Mongol life are imaginary". See also "T'an-t'an Wên Chi Kuei Han T'u (Wên Chi's return to China in Painting)", *Wên Wu*, no. 6 (Peking, 1959), 32-35.

<sup>11)</sup> Yeh Yü-hua, "Ts'ai Wên Chi (Hu chia Shih-pa P'ai) *ssü lun* (Fourth essay on Ts'ai Wên Chi's *HCSPP*)", *HCSPP'T'LC*, 104-117; and *passim* in *HCSPP'T'LC*.

<sup>12)</sup> Kuo Mo-jo, *HCSPP'T'LC*, 1-47, in a series of six articles some of which are repeated in *TWC*, 67-85.

<sup>13)</sup> *HHS*, 114, 5 a. The Southern *Hsiung-nu* had been vassals of the Chinese, technically at least since A.D. 48-50.

<sup>14)</sup> *HHS*, 119, 32 a. For the rise of the *Hsien-pi*, see *HHS*, 120, 11 a ff.

<sup>15)</sup> Chinese "princesses" were frequently given as additional wives to *Hsiung-nu* rulers who visited the Han court from time to time. Under the older rule of the *Hsiung-nu*, however, there were only five clans (or tribes) from whom the *Shan-yü* could choose a "chief" wife, or *Yen-chih*. After the division between the North and South among the *Hsiung-nu*, the old order slackened and many of the rulers of the Southern *Hsiung-nu* became sinicized. The parallel between the *Hsiung-nu* and the Scythians in this regard has often been remarked.

<sup>16)</sup> *HHS*, 119, 32, Hu Ch'u-ch'üan may have been killed in a battle with the *Hsien-pi*.

<sup>17)</sup> *HHS*, 114, 5 a. See T'an Ch'i-hsiang, *op. cit.*, *HCSPP'T'LC*, 238-254, particularly p. 245, who believes that *HHS* is in error, and that *yu*, "right", should be substituted for *tsu*, "left".

<sup>18)</sup> William M. McGovern, *Early Empires of Central Asia*, Chapel Hill (1939), 311-314 has a very brief account of the years between 195-216, in which he lists too few *Hsiung-nu* rulers. Mathias Tchang, *Synchronismes Chinois*, Shanghai (1905), *sub anno*, lists most of them, but does not cite the sources for each statement. The account of the Southern *Hsiung-nu* can be pieced together from *HHS*, 119, 26 a ff; *HHS*, 120, 11 a, 13 a, and 15 a; from the *Chin-shu* (*CS*), of Fang Hsüan-ling *et al.* ("The History of the Chin Dynasty - A.D. 265-419), Chap. 97, 11 a, and 101, 1 a ff; and from the *San Kuo Chih* (*SKC*, "The History of the Three Kingdoms"), of Ch'ên Shou, Chap. 28, 19 ff.

<sup>19)</sup> Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han-shu* ("The History of the Former Han Dynasty"), Chapters 94 A & B, particularly 94 A, 7 a, ff (hereafter *HS*), give an account of the order of battle of the *Hsiung-nu* and their military-political organization. That the same situation existed later, see Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-shêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao* (907-1125), New York (1949), 522-524, and 559-560 and notes.

<sup>20)</sup> *HS*, 94 A, 7 a.

<sup>21)</sup> The wings of the army would seem to have acted more or less independently of the main horse, unless it was a concentrated effort.

<sup>22)</sup> Rank would seem to have run from elder brother to younger brother, rather than from father to son, and there would also appear to have been a "left" and "right" administrative official; see Wittfogel & Fêng 1949, 559-560 and notes.

<sup>23)</sup> T'an Ch'i-hsiang, *op. cit.*, *HCSPP'T'LC*, 244–246; *HHS*, 114, 5 a; and *HHS* 119, 1 a ff. See *HS*, 1 B, 12 a, the various commanders may also have had horses of a different colour to signify direction.

<sup>24)</sup> The first three rulers of the *Hsiung-nu*; T'ou Man, Mao Tun, and Chi Yü represented three generations of the same line. Mao Tun, however, was said to have slaughtered his brothers and even his half-brothers to prevent a rival taking his throne. See *HS*, 94 A, 5 a. A family relationship seems to have existed with the Southern *Hsiung-nu*, however.

<sup>25)</sup> See *HHS*, 119, 26 a; *HHS*, 120, 11 a; *CS*, 97, 11 a, and *CS*, 101, 1 a ff; and *SKC*, 28, 19 a ff. There would seem to have been two invasions of Shansi. One in A.D. 195, and the other before A.D. 216. *P'ing-yang* (the modern *Fên-yang*) was invested on the earlier date, after which, but before A.D. 216, *Chin-yang* (the modern *T'ai-yüan*) was taken. During this period, a man named Ch'ü Pi was the *Yu Hsien Wang* "Commander of the Right" of the southern *Hsiung-nu*. The Histories state that he took over command in *P'ing-yang* and went on to invest *Chin-yang*. T'an Ch'i-hsiang, *op. cit.*, *HCSPP'T'LC*, 244–246, has tried to make out a case that it was Ch'ü Pi, the *Yu Hsien Wang*, or "Supreme Commander of the Right", who was Wên Chi's husband. This seems impossible if he were still sacking Chinese cities after her abduction.

<sup>26)</sup> See note 18. Mathias Tchang, *Synchronismes Chinois*, (1905), *sub anno*; *HHS*, 119, 30 a; *CS*, 97, 11 a; *CS*, 101, 1 a; and *SKC*, 28, 19 a. Ch'iang Ch'ü would seem to have been put in power by the Chinese and later put to death by his own subjects.

<sup>27)</sup> Yü Fu-lo was apparently the son of Ch'iang Ch'ü, and seems to have died a natural death. Hu Ch'u-ch'üan, however, seems to have been a brother, not of Yü Fu-lo, but of Ch'iang Ch'ü. The destruction of *P'ing-yang* was the result of a revolt on the part of the *Hsiung-nu*, who had reached that far South as allies of the Chinese.

<sup>28)</sup> *HHS*, 119, 32 a. See notes 17, 23, and 25 and T'an Ch'i-hsiang, *op. cit.*, *HCSPP'T'LC*, 244–246. Ch'ü Pi, the *Yu Hsien Wang*, or "Commander of the Right", does not seem to have appeared in Shansi until after A.D. 195.

<sup>29)</sup> Wittfogel and Fêng 1949, 15–16, use the term "infiltration" as opposed to "conquest". See *CS*, 101, 1 a.

<sup>30)</sup> This would have been impossible if Liu Pao were the father of Liu Yüan, and there is no record of what happened to either of Wên Chi's sons.

<sup>31)</sup> *SKC* (Wei), 29, 1 b. For Ts'ao Ts'ao's illness see Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, I, Cambridge (1959), 204.

<sup>32)</sup> Ts'ao Ts'ao died before Hsien-ti, and Ts'ao P'ei ruled as regent under the title "Wei Wang" until the Emperor's death. See Kuo Mo-jo, "T'i Ts'ao Ts'ao Fan-an" (Reopening the case for Ts'ao Tsao), *TWC*, 76–85.

<sup>33)</sup> *HHS*, 114, 5 a, states that Ts'ao Ts'ao had been a friend of Ts'ai Yung, and cites this as a reason for his interest in the matter.

<sup>34)</sup> *HHS*, 114, 5 a. *Chin-pi* is usually "treasure". See Yang Lien-shêng, *Money and Credit in China*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series. Vol. XII, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1952), p. 11.

<sup>35)</sup> *HCSPP'*, verse XII. If the lady is not to be taken literally, *ch'ien-chin* could simply mean "a lot of gold". *Ch'ieh-shên*, literally: "the body of the concubine", should probably be read: "me".

<sup>36)</sup> *HHS*, 119, 32 a, in A.D. 216, Ch'ü Pi, the *Yu Hsien Wang*, entered *P'ing-yang*.

<sup>37)</sup> *HCSPP'*, verse XII; "The barbarians caper about, joyful and singing with cheer, their land and mine have ceased to war".

<sup>38)</sup> Li Ts'un-jên, "Kuan yü Ts'ai Wên Chi ku-li ti tzü-liao (An attempt to establish the frontier from Ts'ai Wên-chi's old-style measurement)", *HCSPP'T'LC*, 259–261. Liu K'ai-yang, "Kuan yü Ts'ai Wên Chi chi ch'i teo-p'in (The frontier from Ts'ai Wên-chi's description)", *HCSPP'T'LC*, 171–177; Liu Ta-chieh, "Kuan yü Ts'ai Yen-ti (Hu-chia Shih-pa P'ai)" — The Geography of Ts'ai Yen's *HCSPP'* — *HCSPP'T'LC*, 141–153. The only measurement that Ts'ai Wên Chi uses is *ch'ien-li*, "a thousand

miles", and here it is figurative, see *HCSPP*, verse II, "... A thousand miles of sand swirl about, lifted by the winds of the desert...". The Southern *Hsiung-nu* had been pushed South into Suiyüan and Chahar, the so-called "Ordos" region by the *Hsien-pi*.

<sup>39)</sup> This "war" would seem to have been more a series of border skirmishes probably set off by the insurrection and usurpation of the throne by Tung Cho. The *Hsiung-nu* invaded Shansi, invested several towns and remained there for several years. It is quite likely that pressure from the *Hsien-pi* had as much to do with this as a desire to raid China.

<sup>40)</sup> See note 32, Kuo Mo-jo, *op. cit.*, TWC, 76–85. Ts'ao Ts'ao was an opportunist, but then the last Emperor of Later Han was little better than an imbecile, and it must be said that Ts'ao Ts'ao was better behaved than his predecessor, Tung Cho, who burned *Lo-yang*.

<sup>41)</sup> The story here is confusing. See *HHS*, 114, 5 a. Liu Pao was the "Commander of the Left", and Ch'ü Pi, the "Commander of the Right", both men were in Shansi, but it would seem that Liu Pao was there in A.D. 195.

<sup>42)</sup> *HCSPP*, Verses II and III.

<sup>43)</sup> *Lo-yang*, the capital of Later Han was supposed to have been destroyed by the usurper Tung Cho, ca. A.D. 189.

<sup>44)</sup> Li Ts'un-jên, *op. cit.*, *HCSPP'T'LC*, 259–261, particularly p. 260. *Ch'ên-liu-hsien* would seem to have been an old name for a rather large area. See Note 103.

<sup>45)</sup> Kojirō Tomita, *op. cit.*, *BulMFA*, 1948, 44. See nn. 101–103.

<sup>46)</sup> See note 38. Where this was is uncertain. At one point Wên Chi suggested that she could see the "Great Wall", and at another point she stated that her captors moved about a great deal. See *HCSPP*. VII and X.

<sup>47)</sup> Albert Herrmann, *Atlas of China*, Harvard-Yenching (1935), 26–27. The old headquarters of the *Hsiung-nu* was along the upper Orkhon, but the Southern *Hsiung-nu* were pressed South closer to the fortieth parallel.

<sup>48)</sup> See note 45. The Wên Chi scrolls would also seem to indicate this, see figs. 1–3 and 5–7. The landscape is different in each panel.

<sup>49)</sup> See note 6, and Kuo Mo-jo, *op. cit.*, *HCSPP'T'LC*, 1–10, and Kuo Mo-jo, *op. cit.*, TWC, 67–73. *HHS*, 114, 5 a.

<sup>50)</sup> The version used here is from the *Ch'u-tz'ü Hou-yü*, of Li Hsien, in *Ku-yi Ts'ung-shu*, by Chu Hsi, *Chü ying yin Sung Tuan-p'ing k'ê-pên* edition (ca. A.D. 1235); Nanking photo-offprint edition, N.D.

<sup>51)</sup> See n. 50. This would seem to be the "standard" text. Neither Margouliès nor Ayscough stated which version they used.

<sup>52)</sup> See n. 6, and Kuo Mo-jo, *op. cit.*, *HCSPP'T'LC*, 11–13; and TWC, 74–75.

<sup>53)</sup> See *Wên Wu*, No. 6 (1959), 32–35; and Wang Ch'ü-fei, "Kuan yü Ming-mu (Hu-chia shih-pa p'ai) tu-ti i-hsieh wên-t'i (The frontier as seen in a Ming copy (of the *HCSPP*) and some comparisons), *Wên Wu*, No. 6 (1959), 36–37. See also Tomita, *Bul MFA*, 41. See *Chinese Art Treasures* (in Chinese as: *Chung-hua Wên-wu*), Skira, New York (1961). A selected group of objects from the Chinese National Palace Museum and the Chinese National Central Museum, Taichung, Taiwan. Catalogue #48, pp. 112–113, Hanging scroll in ink and colors on silk, 58" × 42<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub>" (147.4 × 107.7 cm.), attributed to Ch'ên Chü-chung (ca. A.D. 1205), of Southern Sung. "*Wên Chi kwei Han-t'u* (Wên Chi's return to China)". This painting illustrates a different version of verses XII and XIII, but then it is not a hand scroll while the others are. See also the cover of TWC, on which a detail of this painting is illustrated.

<sup>54)</sup> All eighteen panels are illustrated in TWC, 92–128. The verses are on the back of each panel, pp. 93–129.

<sup>55</sup>) No one who has published this scroll has so far stated where it came from, nor how long the Nanking Museum has owned it.

<sup>56</sup>) See n. 53. The identifying verses are printed in two versions, "modern", post-1949 Chinese print, and in "old-style" characters, but there is no indication that the poem was inscribed on the face of the scroll itself; see, however, n. 63.

<sup>57</sup>) Published through the courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<sup>58</sup>) I have been informed that they are to be incorporated in the soon-to-be published second volume of the catalogue of Chinese Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston. A detail of one of the panels was illustrated in the first volume. See Kojirō Tomita, *Portfolio of Chinese Paintings in the Museum*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, (1933), Plate 102.

<sup>59</sup>) Tomita, *Bul MFA*, 40–45.

<sup>60</sup>) Tomita, *Bul MFA*, 44, stated that they did not illustrate any particular verses of the *HCSPP*; and in a sense they do not, but they do agree with #3, #6, #13, and #18 of the Nanking scroll.

<sup>61</sup>) Allowances would have to be made for changes in composition. The landscape in the Boston painting is definitely Sung, but early. See note 53.

<sup>62</sup>) *TWC*, 105–106, these may have been Yüan or Ming additions. There is, however, another complete scroll in a private New York collection. This work, which I have been unable to photograph, is probably Sung. All scenes agree with those on the Nanking scroll.

<sup>63</sup>) Kitaura Daisuke (editor), *Tō Sō Gen Min Mei-ga Ten-ran Kai* ("Great Masterpieces of T'ang, Sung, Yüan, and Ming Painting"), Tokyo (1929), Plate 194 B. This is not reproduced in the *Pageant of Chinese Painting*, by Kinjirō Harada, Tokyo (1936), which has many of the same illustrations.

<sup>64</sup>) I have been unable to find any other reference to Nan-shan Ch'iao-yin. This artist is not listed by this name in any dictionary to which I have access. It may be a *hao*, or "studio name".

<sup>65</sup>) I wish to take this opportunity to thank Mr. James Cahill, Curator of Chinese Paintings at the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., for drawing my attention to these paintings.

<sup>66</sup>) These are the verses which appear on the backs of the panels of the Nanking scroll in *TWC*, 93–129. The untranslatable *hai*, Mathews', *Chinese English Dictionary*, #2414 was omitted.

<sup>67</sup>) It will be noted that there is a slight difference between panel thirteen of the Nanking scroll and that of the same scene in the Boston set. In the latter Wên Chi has on a light coloured (or white) robe and reaches out for the younger child who is held by a maid. In the Nanking painting she is dressed in a dark (or black) robe and is seen wiping her eyes.

<sup>68</sup>) Verse fourteen begins: "... I have now returned to China, I do not know where my children are...". Verse seventeen ends: "... My sobbing stops my song, I stand weeping in front of my window...".

<sup>69</sup>) In the Nanking painting the trees outside the courtyard in panel 18 are shown without foliage (in panel 1 they are in full bloom), whereas the Boston scroll shows the same trees with foliage in panel 18. The Nanking painting would seem to suggest that Wên Chi was abducted in the Spring and returned in the Fall or Winter; but her own verses — and the Boston panel — indicate that she was returned to China in the Spring. See *HCSPP*, XII.

<sup>70</sup>) *HCSPP*, II, Indicated that Wên Chi was already in the *Nan Hsiung-nu Ordu*.

<sup>71</sup>) The use of several different types of shelter in a single camp had a long history in the northern steppe. See the so-called "Boiarskaia pisanitsa", a stone graffiti from the Boiary mountains near Minusinsk, which has been dated in the first Tagar period (ca. VIII–V century B.C.), by S. V. Kiselev, *Drevniaia Istoriia Iuzhnoi Sibiri*, Moscow (1951), p. 184, chapter heading to chapter V; Plate XIX, fig. 1, and pp. 252–256; M. P. Griaznov, "Boiarskaia Pisanitsa", *Problemy Istarii Material'noi Kul'tury*, #7–8 (Leningrad, 1933), 41 ff. This rock engraving was first discovered ca. 1904 by A. V. Adrianov

and depicts a village scene with a bell-shaped *yurt* together with what seem to be log cabins (of two types), and possibly a tent. Similar structures still exist in Siberia. See A. P. Potapov, *Ocherki po Istarii Altai*, Moscow — Leningrad (1953), 279.

<sup>72</sup>) Similar *yurts* are still in use, see Potapov 1953, 287 and 289. For the method of construction see SHakhmatov (*et al.*), *Istoriia Kazakhskoi S.S.R.*, Alma Ata (1957), 300—302.

<sup>73</sup>) The contemporary stock raising peoples of Kazakhstan use a light framework of logs and rope, but in this instance it forms a corral for stock, and the *yurt* is merely erected inside an oversized pen.

<sup>74</sup>) The region was first noted in 1924, see M. P. Griaznov, "Raskopki Kniazheskoi mogily na Altae" *CHelovek*, #2—4 (Leningrad, 1928), 217—219. See S.I. Rudenko, *Kul'tura Naseleniia Gornogo Altaia v Skifskoe Vremia*, Moscow — Leningrad (1953).

<sup>75</sup>) M. P. Griaznov, *Pervyi Pazyrykskii Kurgan*, Izd. Gos. Ermitazha, Leningrad (1950); Rudenko 1953, 172—182 and 362—365. The two accounts do not always agree.

<sup>76</sup>) V. O. Vitt, "Loshadi Pazyrykskikh kurganov", *Sovetskaiia Arkheologiya*, XVI (Leningrad, 1952), 163—205. Franz Hančar, "Stand und Historische Bedeutung des Pferdegezichts Mittelasiens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.", *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IX (Wien, 1952), 466—483.

<sup>77</sup>) For a survey in English (of all except K-5 through K-8), see Karl Jettmar, "The Altai before the Turks", *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, 23 (Stockholm, 1951), 135—223; hereafter *BMFEA*.

<sup>78</sup>) Rudenko 1953, 136—141; 294, and 309—314.

<sup>79</sup>) Rudenko 1953, 206—226, and 372—375. John F. Haskins, "Pazyryk, the Valley of the Frozen Tombs", *Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*, Vol. 40, Nos. 1 & 2 (New York, 1956), 3—47; hereafter *BNBC*.

<sup>80</sup>) Haskins, *BNBC*, 42—45; Guitty Azarapay, "Some Classical and Near Eastern Motifs in the Art of Pazyryk", *Artibus Asiae*, XXII/4 (Ascona, 1959), 313—339. The draught horses were probably used to pull the high wheeled cart found in K-5. See S. I. Rudenko, *Kul'tura Naseleniia Tsentral'nogo Altaia v Skifskoe Vremia*, Moscow — Leningrad 1960), Plate LII; and pp. 232—236.

<sup>81</sup>) Note the woolen pile carpet and the Chinese silk shabrack from Kurgan #5. See Rudenko 1953, pp. 351—356, and Plates CXV & CXVI for the carpet and Rudenko 1953, pp. 212, 215—218, figs. 129—132 and Plate CXVIII for the shabrack. See also Griaznov and Bulgakov 1958, Plates 52—53.

<sup>82</sup>) Most recently in E. D. Phillips, "The Argippaei of Herodotus", *Artibus Asiae*, XXIII/2 (Ascona, 1960), 124—128, particularly 127.

<sup>83</sup>) Rudenko 1953, Plates LXXXVIII; XC; figs. 1 & 2; XCV: CVIII; and CIV; and pp. 321—323; 338—340; and 375. Rudenko 1960, 298—299, and fig. 152 — e & zh. Best illustrated in M. P. Griaznov and A. Bulgakov, *Drevnee Iskusstvo Altaia*, Leningrad (1958), Plates 54—56, and Plate 28. (Text in Russian and French).

<sup>84</sup>) The object may have been longer originally, these measurements would seem to be those of the portion that is now on exhibit in the Hermitage at Leningrad.

<sup>85</sup>) Rudenko 1953, 375. Many objects which should have been in the grave pit or in the tomb chamber were in the horse pit and thus saved from the tomb robbers.

<sup>86</sup>) Most authors who refer to the felt call it a hanging. In 1958, however, there was a drawing of the completed felt exhibited with the piece itself which showed the felt together with the coffin. This exhibit was gone in 1960, but the excavators told me that it was still their opinion that the material had been used as a shield for the sarcophagus. This seems unlikely, for except for the tomb, its chamber and the coffins, everything else in the graves would seem to have been an object that was in daily use. There did not appear to be much that was made specifically for the burial.

<sup>87</sup>) Rudenko 1953, 321—323; Rudenko 1960, 298—300; and Phillips, *Artibus Asiae* (1960), 127.



<sup>88)</sup> Haskins, *BNBC*, 45.

<sup>89)</sup> Rudenko 1960, 259, fig. 133, for other variations of the "antler" motif.

<sup>90)</sup> Rudenko 1953, Plate CVIII, and Griaznov and Bulgakov 1958, Plate 28. These have often been published as "flat silhouettes", and I have been guilty of this until I saw the objects themselves.

<sup>91)</sup> M. Zamotorin, "Otnositel'naia KHronologiiia Pazyrykskikh Kurganov", *Sovetskaiia Arkheologia*, I (Moscow — Leningrad, 1959), 21—30. The excavators kindly let me see their data in 1960, and I should like to take this opportunity to thank Professor M. I. Artamonov, his staff at the Hermitage, and Professor S. I. Rudenko, and his staff at the Institute for Archaeology. I published K-5 as mid IVth century in 1956 (Haskins, *BNBC*, 47), and am pleased to note that this has been validated by radio-carbon (Carbon-14) analysis. The Carbon-14 reading for K-5 at Pazyryk (as of 8 June, 1960) was given to me as: Minus 2,350 years; plus or minus 60—130 years which would give a mean of about 390 B.C.

<sup>92)</sup> Rudenko 1960, 173—189. Rudenko believes the Pazyryk peoples, and those from the related sites of Tuekta and Bashadar as well, to be "Scythian" in the classical sense that Herodotus used the term.

<sup>93)</sup> Haskins, *BNBC*, 1956, 47.

<sup>94)</sup> There were fragments of more than one felt found in K-5, but they were so badly damaged that sizes could not be determined.

<sup>95)</sup> Wittfogel and Fêng 1949, 134 and note.

<sup>96)</sup> There is reason to believe that the *yurt* may have been one of the earliest forms of shelter erected by man and it is still being used by the tribal peoples of the Kazakh Steppe. The Sung artist could have been copying nomadic life as it was known in his day, but whatever may have been the case, the depiction is accurate.

<sup>97)</sup> Kuo Mo-jo, *TWC*, 129—132; and Kuo Mo-jo, *HCSPP'T'LC*, 253—254.

<sup>98)</sup> Li Ts'un-jên, *op. cit.*, *HCSPP'T'LC*, 260. Tomita, *Bul MFA*, 41.

<sup>99)</sup> Kuo Mo-jo, *TWC*, 93.

<sup>100)</sup> Li Ts'un-jên, *op. cit.*, *HCSPP'T'LC*, 259—261, and map, p. 261.

<sup>101)</sup> No reason, except Wên Chi's wedding journey, is given for her being so far North along the *Fên* River, nor for the *Nan Hsiung-nu* being so far to the South. *Chêng-chou* is about 150 air-line miles from *Lin-fên* (*P'ing-yang*).

<sup>102)</sup> Kuo Mo-jo, *TWC*, Plates, pp. 92 and 128. See n. 67.

<sup>103)</sup> See n. 99. Li Ts'un-jên, *op. cit.*, *HCSPP'T'LC*, 259—261, proposed that the ancient *Ch'ên-liu-hsien* may have composed a much larger area than it was later to do, and may have extended across the river (the change of course would have made no difference anyway, for this occurred east of *K'ai-fêng*). It is more likely that the Sung painter was mistaken. If he were following an art tradition, and as would seem to be the case, not the poem, this cartouche would be one more piece of evidence for a "prototype" of the Wên Chi story. Wên Chi's reference to *Ch'ang-an* may have been "poetic license", and a general reference to China. Even so, however, *Ying-ch'uan* is two hundred miles from Sian and farther South than the *Nan Hsiung-nu* were to go for nearly one hundred fifty years. It would be interesting to know what the inscription on the missing panel 1, from the Boston scroll would have had to say — if anything.

# Index

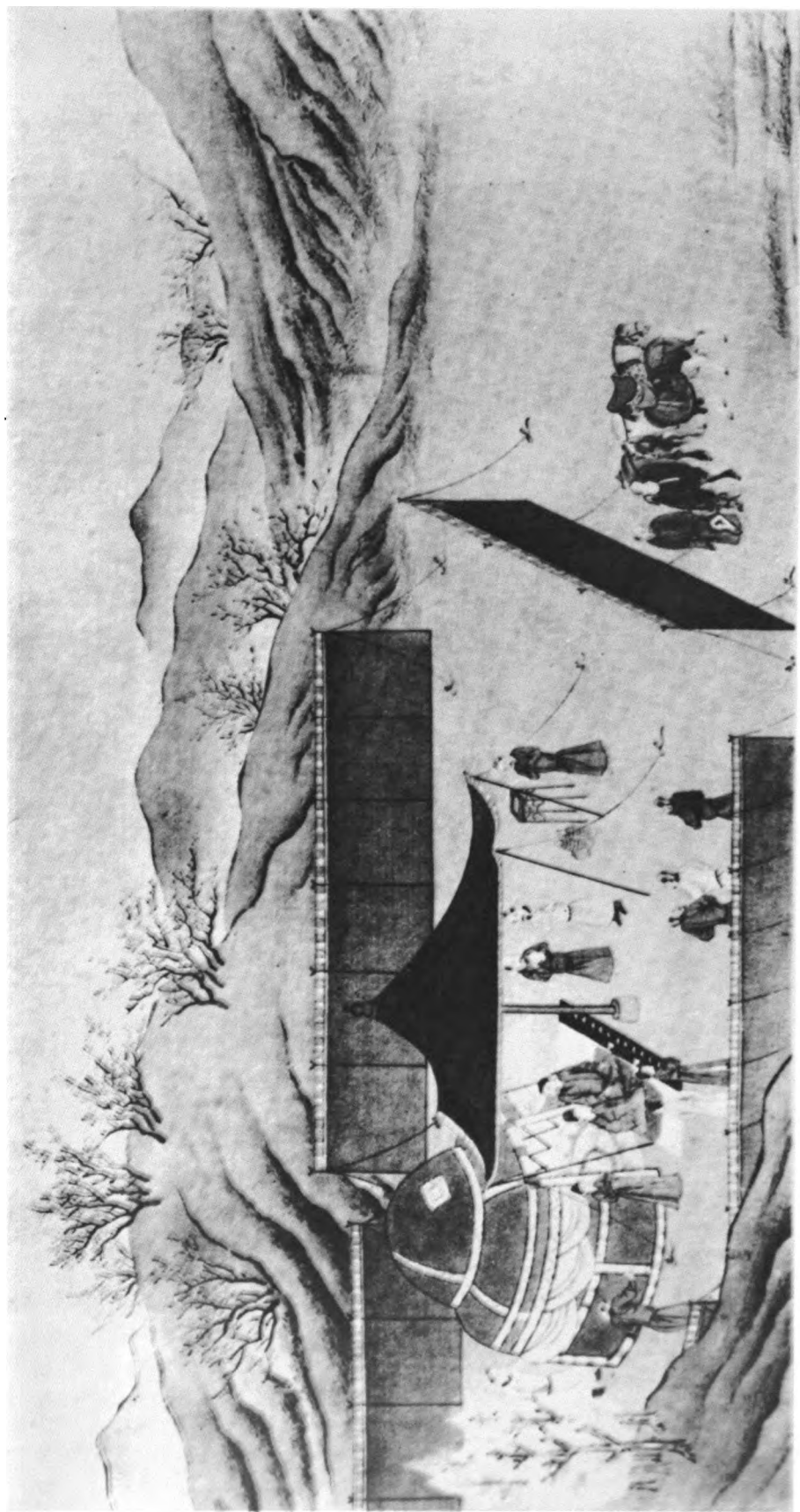
1. 蔡文姬 2. 魏城 3. 長安 4. 鎮 5. 陳居中 6. 陳留縣 7. 陳奇 8. 鄭州 9. 稽粥 10. 羌渠 11. 前趙 12. 遣千金分贖妻身 13. 千金 14. 前漢書 15. 千里 16. 金壁 17. 晉書 18. 晉陽 19. 琴 20. 朱熹 21. 去年 22. 據影印宋端平刻本 23. 楚辭後語 24. 中華書局 25. 二十 26. 范曄 27. 房玄齡 28. 汾河 29. 汾陽 30. 福家昇 31. 漢 32. 漢靈帝 33. 甄 34. 原田謹次郎 35. 後漢 36. 後漢書 37. 兮 38. 鮮卑 39. 獻帝 40. 興平 41. 匈奴 42. 許昌 43. 胡笳 44. 胡笳十八拍 45. 胡笳十八拍討論集 46. 吟廚泉 47. 開封 48. 北浦大介 49. 郭沫若 50. 古逸叢書 51. 關於明摹胡笳十八拍圖的一些問題 52. 關於蔡文姬及其作品 53. 關於蔡文姬故里的資料 54. 關於蔡琰的(胡笳十八拍) 55. 李賢 56. 李村人 57. 連 58. 連史 59. 臨汾 60. 劉 61. 劉開揚 62. 劉豹 63. 劉大杰 64. 劉淵 65. 洛陽 66. 賈頤 67. 孟德 68. 愍帝 69. 乃遣使者以金壁贖之 70. 南匈奴 71. 南山樵隱 72. 伯喈 73. 拍 74. 班固 75. 悲憤詩 76. 北漢 77. 畢仲游 78. 平陽府 79. 拍 80. 跋(胡笳十八拍)畫卷 81. 三國 82. 三國志 83. 單于 84. 十二 85. 支那名畫寶鑒 86. 綏遠 87. 宋書 88. 大將軍 89. 大月氏 90. 太原府 91. 譚其驤 92. 談談 93. 談蔡文姬的(胡笳十八拍) 94. 特立尸遜侯 95. 替曹操翻案 96. 唐宋元明名畫覽會 97. 頭曼 98. 再談蔡文姬的(胡笳十八拍) 99. 蔡文姬 100. 蔡文姬(胡笳十八拍)四論 101. 蔡文姬的生平及其作品 102. 蔡琰 103. 蔡邕 104. 曹丕 105. 曹操 106. 左賢王 107. 董卓 108. 董祀 109. 董祀妻傳 110. 王 111. 王去非 112. 魏 113. 衛仲 114. 魏國公 115. 魏王 116. 文姬 117. 文姬歸漢圖 118. 文物 119. 武平侯 120. 關氏 121. 葉玉華 122. 韻川 123. 韻川陳家 124. 於扶羅 125. 右賢王 126. 元

1. Chahar
2. Chan-ch'êng
3. Ch'ang-an
4. Chên

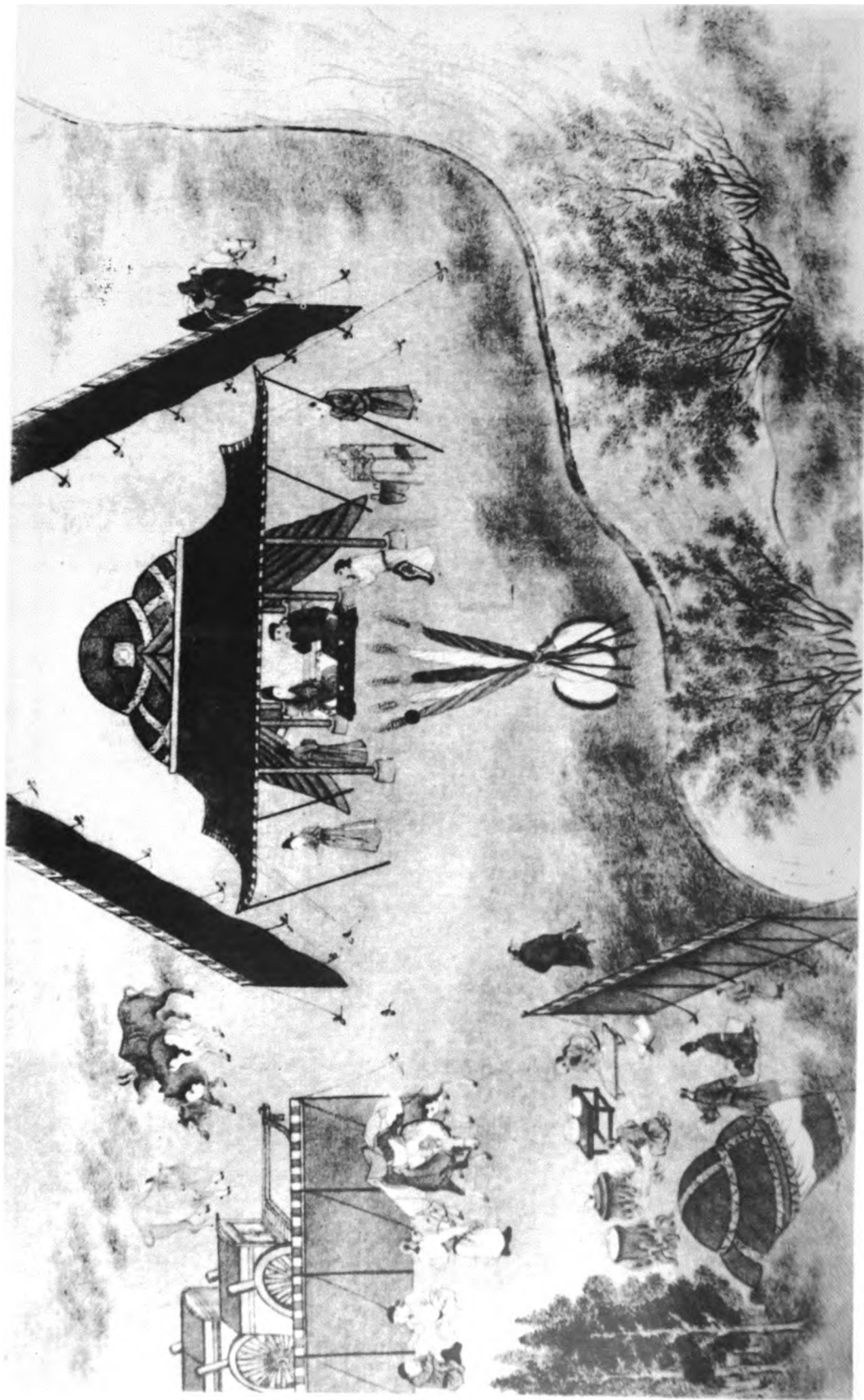
5. Ch'ên Chü-chung
6. Ch'ên-liu-hsien
7. Ch'ên Shou
8. Chêng-chou

9. Chi Yü
10. Ch'iang Ch'ü
11. Ch'ien Chao
12. "Ch'ien ch'ien-chin hsi, shu  
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13. Ch'ien-chin
14. Ch'ien Han-shu
15. Ch'ien-li
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22. Chü ying yin Sung  
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23. Ch'u-tz'ü Hou-yü
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26. Fan Yeh
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28. Fên-ho
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30. Fêng Chia-shêng
31. Han
32. Han Ling-ti
33. Hao
34. Harada Kinjirō
35. Hou Han
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37. Hsi
38. Hsien-pi
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48. Kitaura Daisuke
49. Kuo Mo-jo
50. Ku-yi Ts'ung-shu
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52. "Kuan yü Ts'ai Wên-chi chi  
ch'i Tso-p'in"
53. "Kuan yü Ts'ai Wên Chi Ku-li-ti  
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Shih-pa P'ai)"
55. Li Hsien
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57. Liao
58. Liao-shih
59. Lin-fên
60. Liu
61. Liu K'ai-yang
62. Liu Pao
63. Liu Ta-chieh
64. Liu Yüan
65. Lo-yang
66. Mao Tun
67. Mêng Tê
68. Min-ti
69. "Nai ch'ien shih chē i chin-pi  
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70. Nan Hsiung-nu
71. Nan-shan Ch'iao-yin
72. Pai Chieh
73. P'ai
74. Pan Ku
75. Pei-fên Shih
76. Pei Han
77. Pi Chung-yu
78. P'ing-yang-fu
79. P'o
80. P'o (Hu-chia Shih-pa P'ai) Hua-  
chüan
81. San Kuo
82. San Kuo Chih
83. Shan-yü
84. Shih-êrh
85. Shina Meiga Hōkan
86. Suiyüan
87. Sung-shu

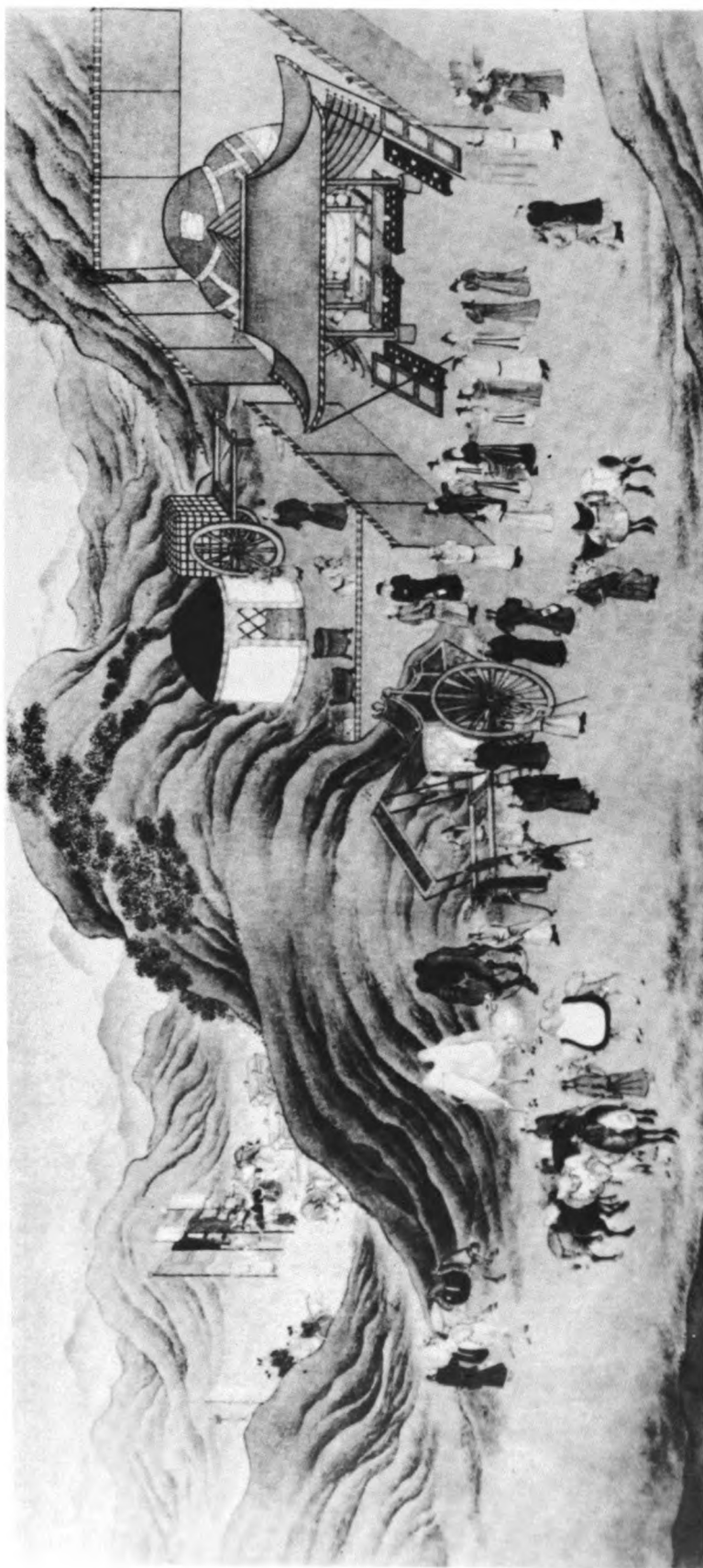
88. Ta Chiang-chün
89. Ta Yüeh-chih
90. T'ai-yüan-fu
91. T'an Ch'i-hsiang
92. T'an-t'an
93. T'an Ts'ai Wên-Chi-ti  
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107. Tung Cho
108. Tung Ssü
109. Tung Ssü Ch'i-fu
110. Wang
111. Wang Ch'ü-fei
112. Wei
113. Wei Chung
114. Wei-kuo Kung
115. Wei Wang
116. Wên Chi
117. Wên Chi Kuei-Han-t'u
118. Wên Wu
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121. Yeh Yü-hua
122. Ying-ch'uan
123. Ying-ch'uan Ch'ên chia
124. Yü Fu-lo
125. Yu Hsien Wang
126. Yüan



Pl. 1. Detail, illustrating the third verse of the Hu-chia Shih-pa P'ai. Anonymous, Ming copy of a Sung (?) original.  
People's Museum, Nanking. 53.2 cm.  $\times$  30 cm.



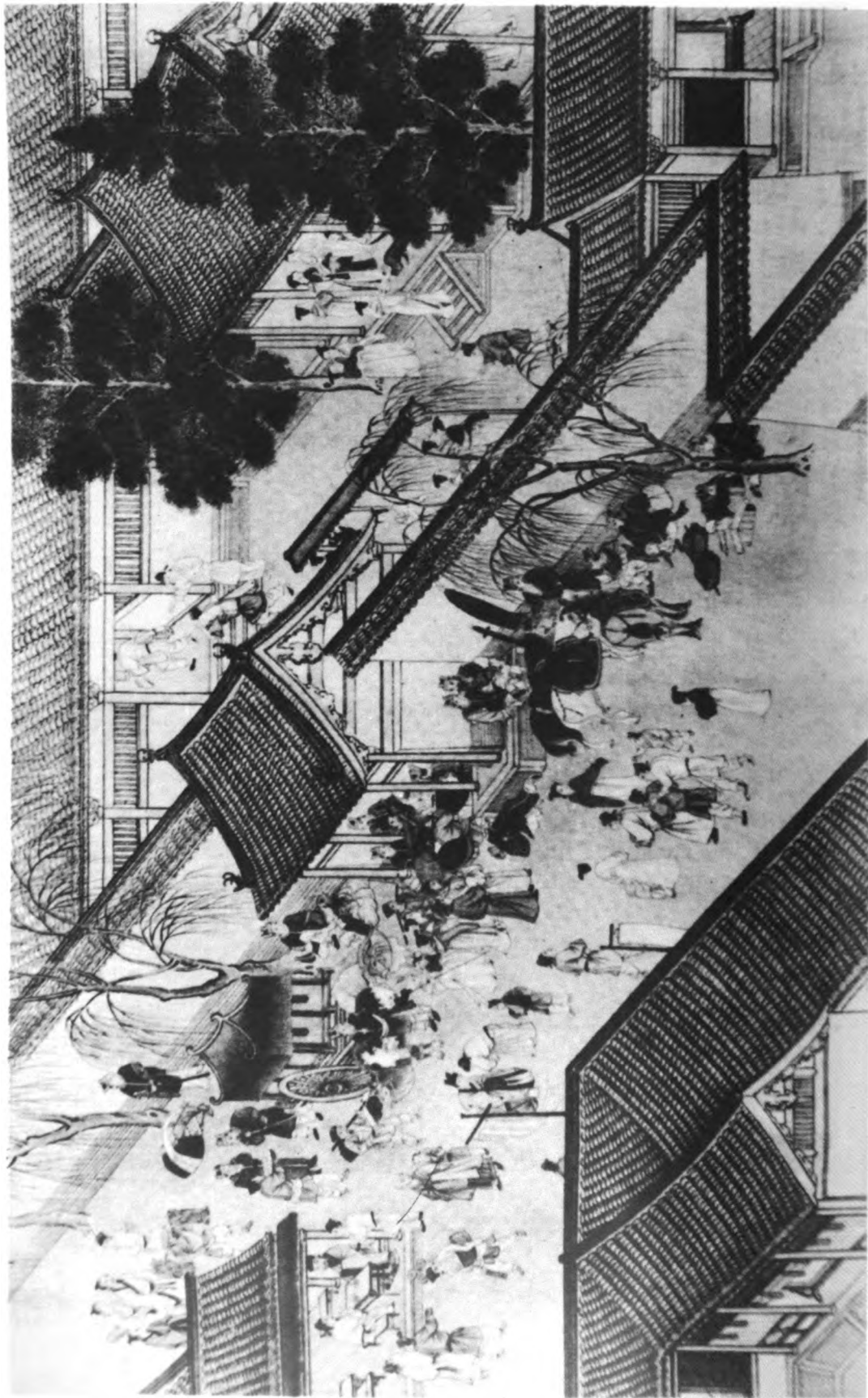
Pl. 2. Detail, illustrating the sixth verse of the *Hu-chia Shih pu P'ai*. Anonymous, Ming copy of a Sung (?) original.  
Peabody Museum, Nanking. 40 cm. x 30 cm.



Pl. 3. Detail, illustrating the thirteenth verse of the Hu-chia Shih-pa P'ai. Anonymous, Ming copy of a Sung (?) original.  
People's Museum, Nanking. 67.1 cm. x 30 cm.

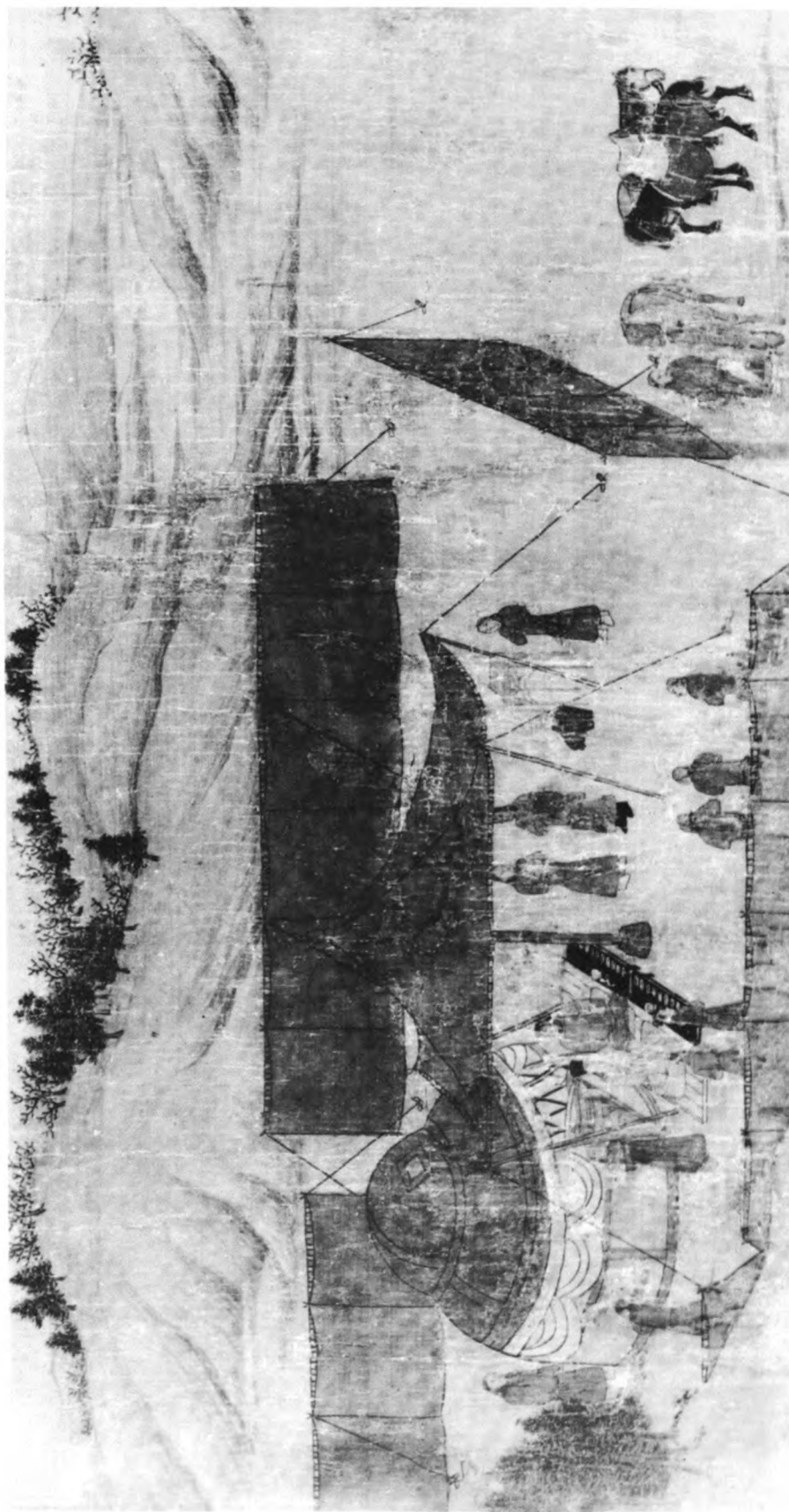


Pl. 4.

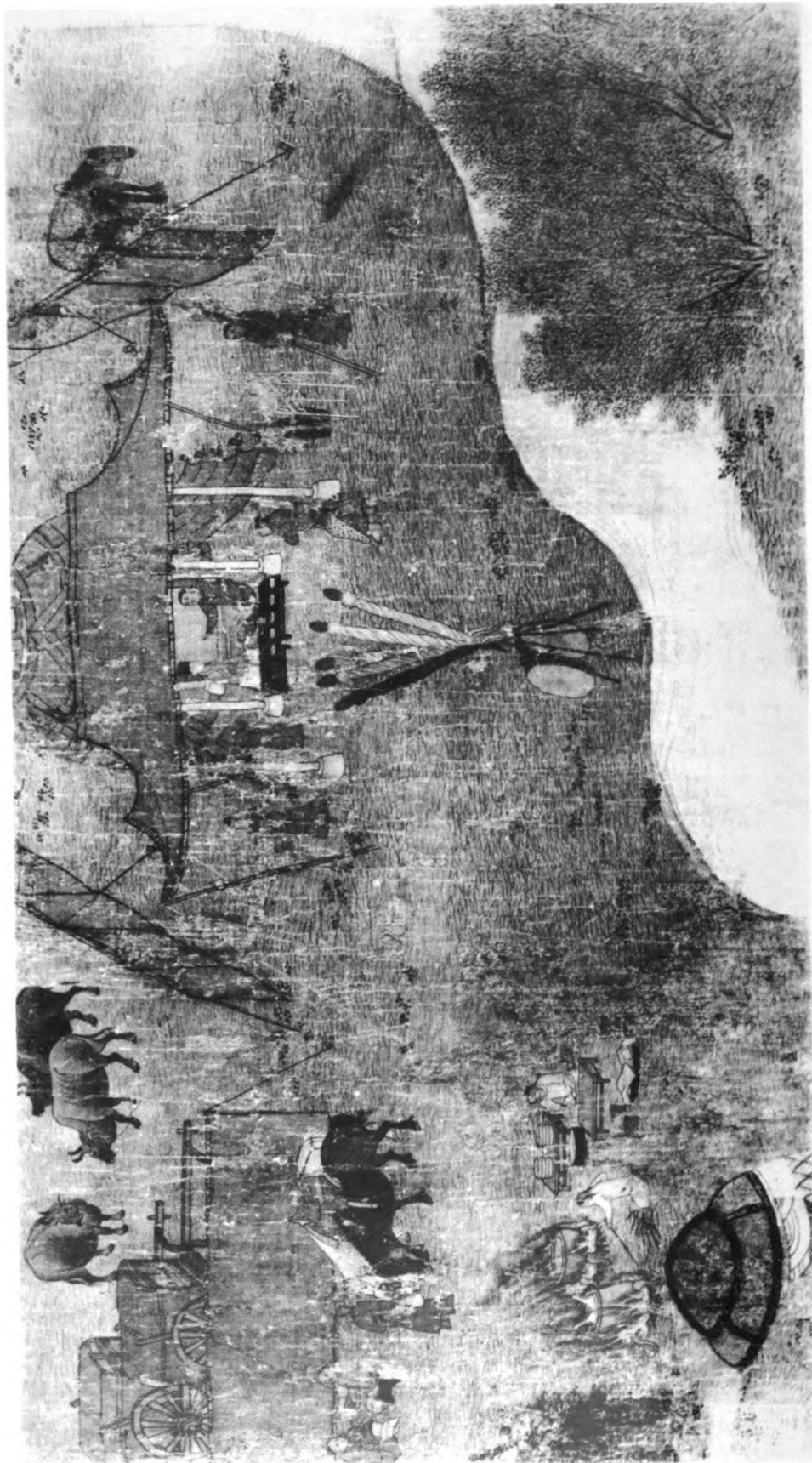


Pl. 4. Interior illustrating the everyday life of the Chinese. From the "Illustrations of the Chinese" by the artist of the "Illustrations of the Chinese" (1891).

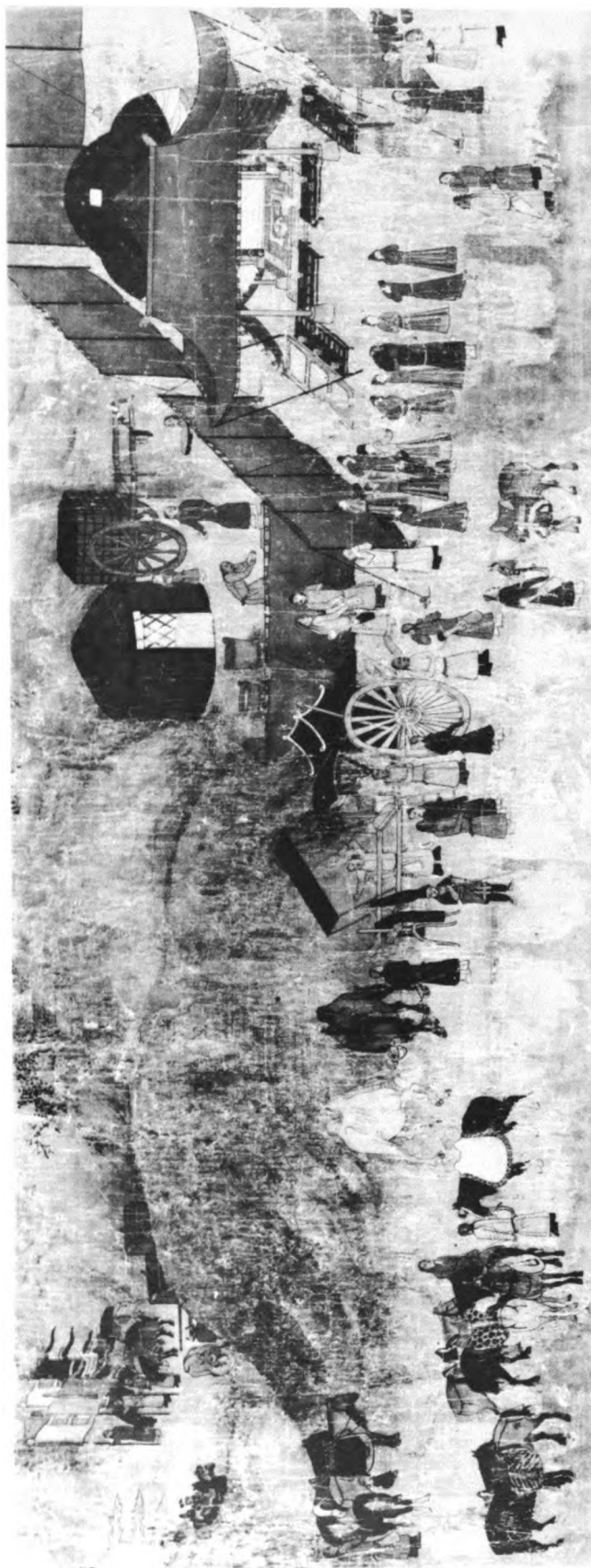




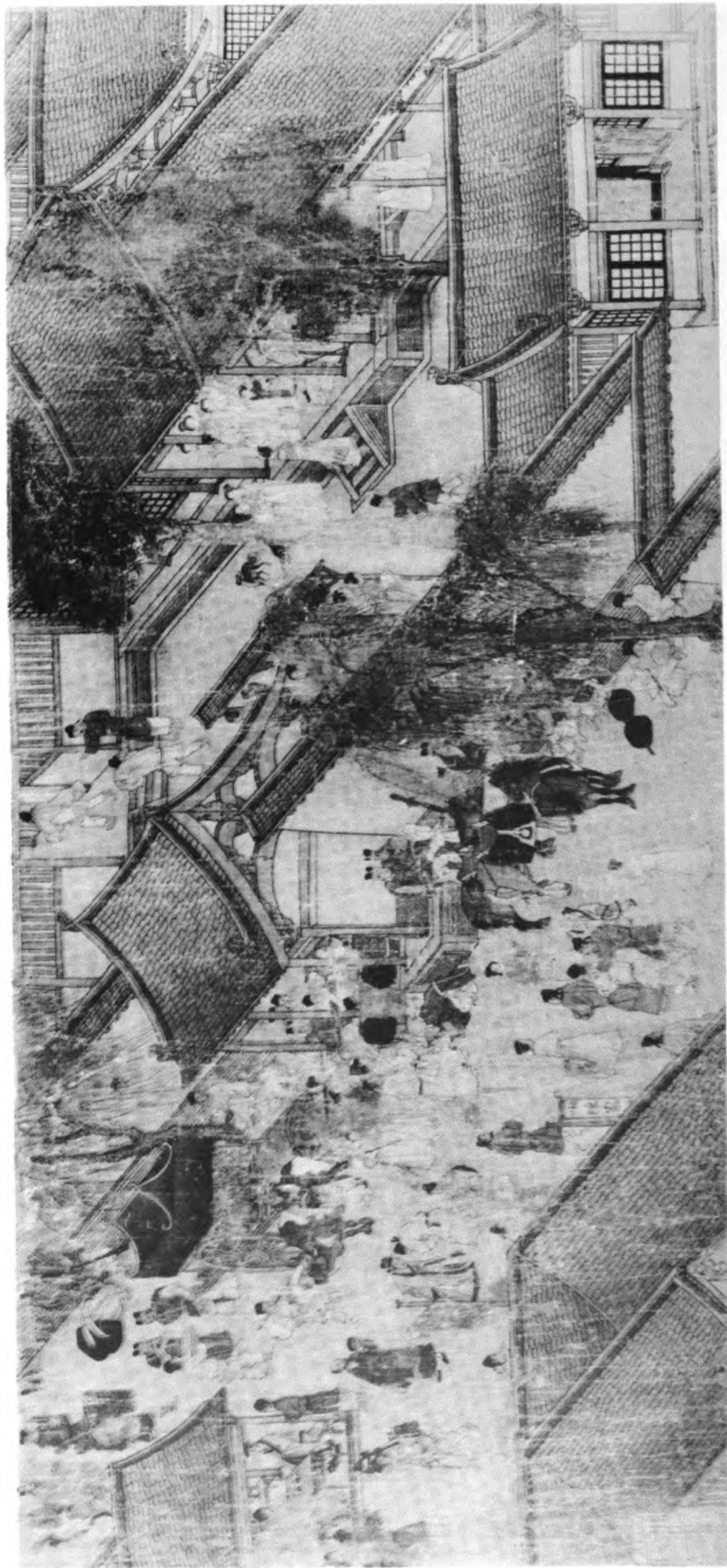
Pl. 5. Anonymous Sung painting. Encampment in the Desert. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; ex Ross collection.  
49.5 cm. × 24.6 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts.



Pl. 6. Anonymous Sung painting. Encampment by a Stream. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; ex Ross collection.  
46.3 cm - 24.6 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts.

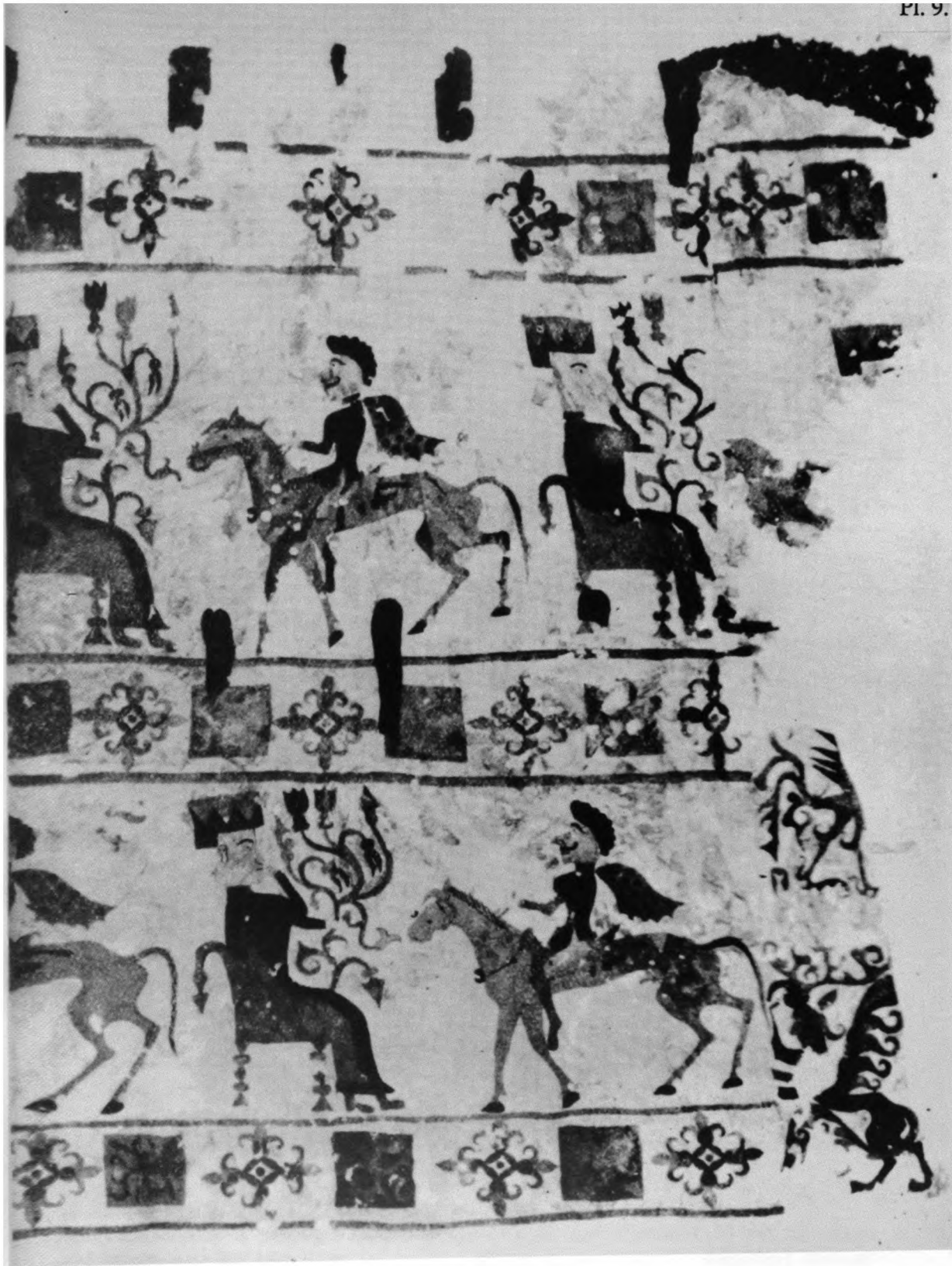


Pl. 7. Anonymous Sung painting. Wén-chi Parting from her Mother and Children. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;  
ex Ross collection. 46.3 cm. × 24.7 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts.

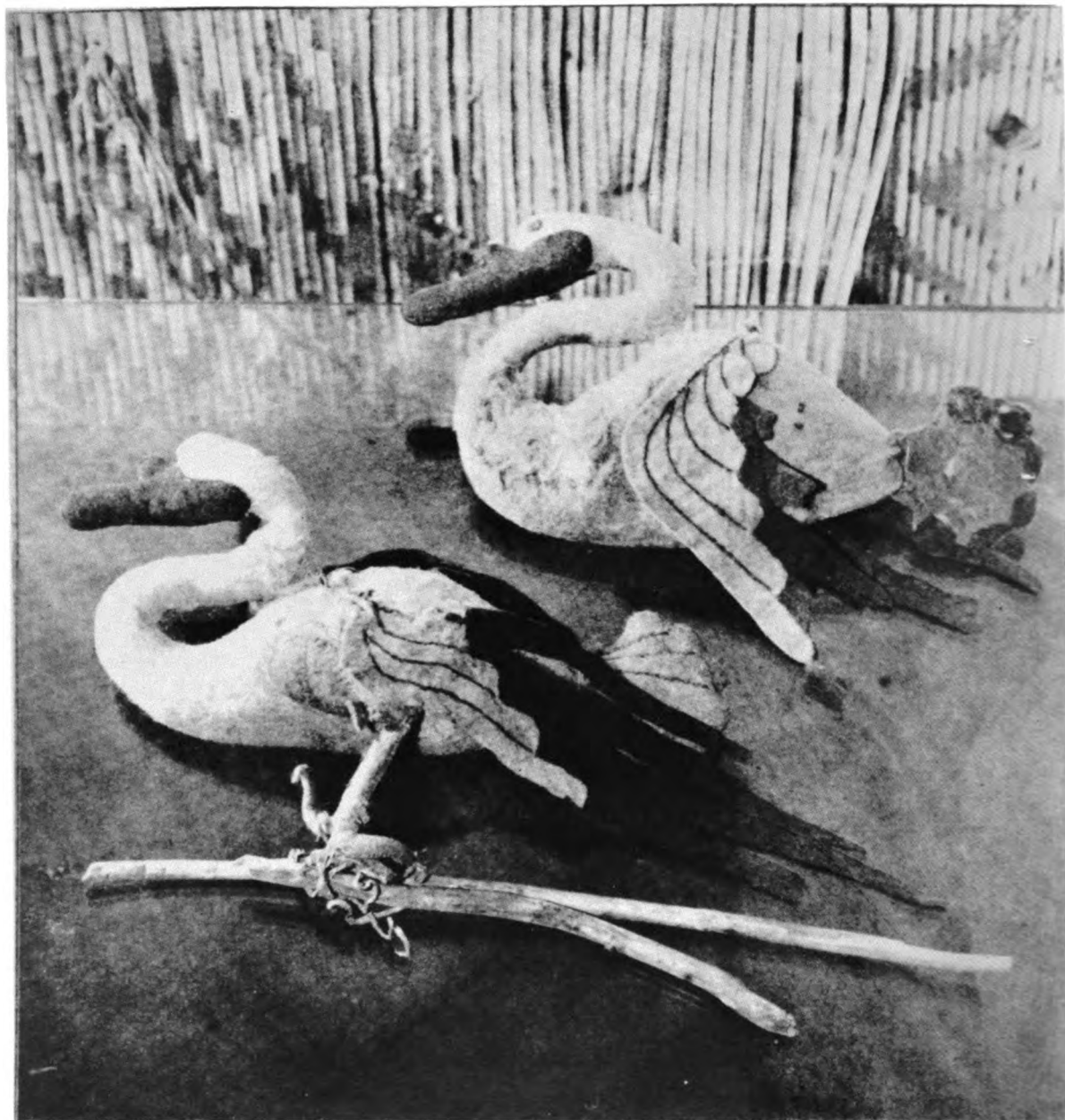


Pl. 8. Anonymous Sung Painting. Wên-chi Arriving at the Chinese City. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; ex Ross collection.  
48.5 cm. x 25 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts.





Pl. 9. Detail of felt wind-screen from the fifth kurgan at Pazyryk. Horseman appearing before a seated goddess (?). Leningrad, the Hermitage. Size of complete felt: 450 cm. × 650 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Soviet Academy of Science and the State Hermitage Museum.



Pl. 10. Sculptured felt swans used as pole tops for the felt screen in Pl. 9. From the fifth kurgan. Pazyryk. Leningrad, the Hermitage. Length of swans: 29 cm. Photograph courtesy of the State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

# SOME PRE-HAN MIRRORS

BY

*BERNHARD KARLGREN*

In a paper "Huai and Han" in BMFEA 13, 1941 I made a typological and chronological investigation of Chinese bronze mirrors of the pre-Han and the Western Han epochs. Faithful to my working principles, I did not philosophize and aestheticize over a small selection of artistical top specimens but I endeavoured to bring together a really comprehensive material which could testify to what were the normal, regular categories and what were the aberrant, sometimes eccentric types. The resultant classification has, on the whole, been well confirmed by the numerous new specimens that have been acquired by collectors and in part published in the past 22 years. Nothing has happened, so far as I can see, to invalidate the chronological scheme proposed in the said paper.<sup>1)</sup>

A complement to that study is, however, desirable, since some of the finds of the last decades furnish valuable information.

The constantly recurring obstacle to archaeological research into early Chinese antiquities is the lack of provenience data. In this respect matters have somewhat improved since a great many excavations have been carried out in various localities and summary notes (sometimes with primitive photographs) have been published in some Chinese archaeological periodicals and in a few books.

In my paper of 1941 I was able to distinguish two principal regions of manufacture of pre-Han mirrors: Honan (principally Lo-yang but also K'ai-feng, Huei-hien, Cheng-chou, Ki-hien); and Anhwei (Shou-chou, now re-named Shou-hien, and other districts in the Huai River valley, including Ku-shī in S. Honan). These two regions presented certain classes of mirrors which differed in a remarkable way.

The category which I labelled C (types exemplified here in Pls. 1—7) was characteristic of the Anhwei region: I could ascertain a provenience from the Huai region of no less than 82 specimens whereas only 10 of this class hailed from the Honan region and 1 from Shensi — all of the 11 had good counterparts from Anhwei.

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<sup>1)</sup> A number of specimens belonging to what I called category E (e.g. Pls. 8—12 b below) defined by me as dating in the latter part of the 3rd century B. C. have appeared in graves which the Chinese excavators have defined as being "Western Han" graves. This seems quite plausible, since the fine mirrors in question were no coarse "ming k'i" specimens made for immediate burial with the dead but must have been treasured and used by the living before finally finding their way into the graves of "sons and grandsons". Yet this may not be all the truth. The young enthusiasts who carry out the excavations sometimes date their graves on very flimsy grounds, as appears from the reasons for the dating given in their "reports" in the periodicals; and, in fact, it must really be exceedingly difficult to tell the difference between a grave from the end of the 3rd and one from the beginning of the 2nd c. B. C. The criteria used appear often to be precisely the mirrors, i.e. the opinions which the excavators happen to hold about the periods of certain mirror classes. It would seem that some of them take mirrors of cat. E to be of the 2nd c. B. C. and consequently date their graves with E mirrors as "Western Han"; others take these mirrors to belong to the "Warring States" period and hence date their graves containing such mirrors in pre-Han time.

The category labelled D (types exemplified here in Pls. 14, 15) was characteristic of the Honan region: I could adduce 42 specimens from northern and central Honan, whereas only 3 hailed from the Shou-hien region and one from Hunan (Ch'ang-sha); all of the latter had exact counterparts from Honan.

The category labelled E (types exemplified in our Pls. 8—12 b) was, again, an Anhwei group. For 37 specimens a Huai region provenience had been attested; only 4 came from the Lo-yang region, all of them having exact counterparts from Shou-hien.

The category labelled G (types exemplified in our Pls. 12 c—13) in the paper of 1941 had 19 specimens from the Anhwei region, 4 from the Honan region.

The excavations carried out during the last two decades have furnished data which form valuable and welcome supplementary materials to aid our inquiries into the regional history of the Huai-style mirror art.

Our expectations, however, should not be too great — if we are not to be disappointed. The curious fact is that whereas Han-time and later mirrors have come to light in great numbers, the pre-Han mirrors excavated are surprisingly few, except for those from one particular region, Hunan, to which we shall revert presently.

It stands to reason that the flourishing provincial museums which have sprung up in great numbers in modern China must possess large hoards of ancient mirrors which have not yet been published. But that is not the point: the point is that in a number of serious excavations of graves from the Huai-style period no mirrors have been found, or only one or two specimens, in spite of the fact that those graves have contained large hoards of bronzes of various kinds, ritual vessels, weapons, tools, dress hooks, chariot fittings, horse's equipment etc. We shall cite here a few examples:

The most surprising case is that of Shou-hien itself — the region which had furnished many scores of Huai-style mirrors, as described in my paper of 1941. In Shou-hien a fine excavation enterprise has brought to light and carefully described a princely tomb of the 3rd c. B. C.<sup>1)</sup>

No less than 486 bronze artifacts were discovered; but not a single mirror.

This is by no means a unique incident. In Huei-hien in Honan some extensive excavations have been carried out and an excellent report has been published.<sup>2)</sup> Three graves from the Huai-style period: one at Liu li ko, one at Ku wei ts'un and one at Chao ku, yielded a very rich harvest of bronzes, particularly the last-mentioned place: vessels and small bronzes of various kinds; but not a single mirror.

In Han-tan in Hopei<sup>3)</sup> a Huai-time find was excavated and yielded no less than 708 bronze artifacts. Among them one single mirror of a very simple type (the whole surface covered with comma-pattern, in one outer and one inner zone, separated by a bare line).

<sup>1)</sup> Shou-hien Ts'ai hou mu ch'u t'u yi wu, 1956.

<sup>2)</sup> Huei hien fa kue pao kao 1956.

<sup>3)</sup> Report in K'ao ku 1962:12.



In Sin-yang in Honan<sup>1)</sup> a great hoard of bronzes, vessels and small bronzes of all kinds was excavated; among them one single mirror ("on both sides covered with a lacquer décor" — mirror?).

In Ch'eng-tu in Sich'uan an excavation<sup>2)</sup> brought to light a large number of bronzes: vessels and small bronzes of various kinds; one mirror (cf. Pl. 17 c below, with commentary).

In Si-an in Shensi an excavation<sup>3)</sup> of a Huai-time grave produced small bronzes of various kinds, 5 mirrors (of which 3 are undecorated, the other 2 bare but for two "string-like" bands).

In Ch'ang-chi in Shansi an excavation<sup>4)</sup> of several Huai-time graves yielded a considerable number of bronzes of various kinds; no mirror.

In Lo-yang in Honan a large excavation<sup>5)</sup> brought to light *inter alia* a rich store of finds of the Huai-style period, above all bronzes of all kinds, vessels, weapons, chariot fittings, horse's equipments etc. One single mirror (a simple, early type: the surface covered with comma-pattern, round the margin a band of cowrie figures).

In Lo-yang in Honan (another place) an excavation<sup>6)</sup> brought to light various small bronzes: dress-hooks of many types, rings, arrow points; one mirror (undecorated).

In Lo-yang (Western suburb) in Honan another excavation<sup>7)</sup> yielded some bronze vessels, bells etc. No mirror.

The scarcity or even absence of mirrors in the equipment of the pre-Han graves (except for those in Hunan)<sup>8)</sup> implies a strong limitation in the material bearing upon the above-mentioned problem of the geographical distribution of the pre-Han mirror classes. Nonetheless, some valuable additions to our knowledge in this field are furnished by certain special publications on mirrors.<sup>9)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Report in Wen wu ts'an k'ao ts'i liao 1958:1.

<sup>2)</sup> Report in K'ao ku h'ue pao 1956:4.

<sup>3)</sup> Report in K'ao ku h'ue pao 1957:3.

<sup>4)</sup> Report in K'ao ku h'ue pao 1957:1.

<sup>5)</sup> Lo yang Chung chou lu, 1959.

<sup>6)</sup> Report in K'ao ku h'ue pao 1954:8.

<sup>7)</sup> Report in K'ao ku h'ue pao 1956:2.

<sup>8)</sup> A great many pre-Han mirrors have been excavated in Hunan, see further below.

<sup>9)</sup> Hu nan ch'u t'u t'ung king t'u lu (here abbreviated: Hu). Lo yang ch'u t'u ku king (abbrev. Lo). Shan'si (Shensi) sheng ch'u t'u t'ung king (abbrev. Shen). Si ch'uan sheng ch'u t'u t'ung king (abbrev. Si).

### Category C

- Pl. 1 a. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 4). A very similar specimen Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (Ch'ang sha fa küe pao kao Pl. 44). Another almost identical specimen Sich'uan, Ch'eng-tu (=Si fig. 1).  
All closely cognate to Pl. 1 b (=1941:C 8).
- Pl. 1 c. (=the type specimen 1941:C 20). An almost identical specimen Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (Hu fig. 7, the same in K'ao ku hüe pao 1959:1). An exact counterpart Yen-k'u fig. 9 (Shou-hien):
- Pl. 2 a. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 8). Two more of the same kind Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (K'ao ku hüe pao 1957:4 and 1959:1). These are exact counterparts of the type specimen 1941:C 23 (from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 2 b. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 6). An identical one Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (Hu fig. 11). These are almost identical with Pl. 2 c.=the type specimen 1941:C 24 (from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 3 a. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=K'ao ku hüe pao 1959:1). This is an exact counterpart of the type specimen 1941:C 34 (from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 3 b. (=the type specimen 1941:C 36). An exact counterpart Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (Hu fig. 17, also in K'ao ku hüe pao 1959:1). (C 36 was from Honan, Lo-yang).
- Pl. 3 c. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=K'ao ku hüe pao 1959:1). An exact counterpart of the type specimen 1941:C 41 (from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 4 a. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 14). Another piece Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (Hu fig. 13). Another piece Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (K'ao ku hüe pao 1959:1). Another piece Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (Wen wu ts'an k'ao ts'i liao 1960:3). Another piece Shensi, Si-an (Shen fig. 5). All exact counterparts of the type specimen 1941:C 45 (there were 4 specimens from Shou-hien, 1 from Huei-hien).
- Pl. 4 b. (=type specimen C 46). An exact counterpart Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (K'ao ku hüe pao 1957:4). Another piece Sich'uan, Ch'eng-tu (Si fig. 2). (Under C 46 there were 3 specimens from Shou-hien, 1 from Ch'ang-sha).
- Pl. 4 c. Hunan, Ch'ang-tê (=Hu fig. 18). Closely allied to Pl. 5 a. (=the type specimen 1941:C 47), though this has only 4 T's. (Under C 47 there were 1 specimen from Shou-hien, 1 from Honan, Lo-yang).
- Pl. 5 b. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 19, also Wen wu 1955:11). This is an exact counterpart of the type specimen 1941:C 50 (from Shou-hien, 2 mirrors).
- Pl. 5 c. (=the type specimen 1941:C 51). Exact counterparts: Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (Hu fig. 15); Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (K'ao ku hüe pao 1957:4). (Under C 51 there were 3 specimens from Shou-hien). Another specimen Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (Ch'ang sha fa küe pao kao Pl. 21) is very kindred but has also features of the type specimen 1941:C 53.

- Pl. 6 a. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu 22) and Pl. 6 b. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu 25). Two more pieces Hunan, Ch'ang-sha=Hu figs. 23, 24. These are all counterparts of the type specimens 1941:C 66 (these 2 specimens from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 6 c. (=the type specimen 1941:C 71). A counterpart Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (Hu fig. 28) (the spec. C 71 from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 7 a. (=the type specimen 1941:C 75). An exact counterpart Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (Hu fig. 29) and another Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (K'ao ku hüe pao 1959:1) (Under C 75 there were 3 specimens from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 7 b. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 20, the same in K'ao ku hüe pao 1959). Another piece Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (K'ao ku hüe pao 1957:4). These are exact counterparts of the type specimen 1941:C 80. (There were 5 specimens from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 7 c. (=the type specimen 1941:C 82). An exact counterpart Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (Hu fig. 21). (Under C 82 there were 2 specimens from Honan, Lo-yang and 1 from Shensi, Si-an).

### Category E

- Pl. 8 a. (=the type specimen 1941:E 4). An exact counterpart Kuang-chou (Wen wu 1956:5). (Under E 4 there were 2 specimens from Honan, Lo-yang).
- Pl. 8 b. Honan, Lo-yang (=Lo fig. 13). Two more pieces (Lo figs. 10, 11). Exact counterparts of the type specimens 1941: E 5 (there were 2 specimens from Honan, Lo-yang and 2 from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 8 c. (=the type specimen 1941:E 7). An exact counterpart Honan, Shan-hien (K'ao ku t'ung hün 1957:4) (E 7 from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 9 a. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 39). Another piece Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (K'ao ku hüe pao 1959:1). Exact counterparts of the type specimen 1941:E 17 (the latter being from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 9 b. Honan, Lo-yang (=Lo fig. 8). Not id. with but strongly kindred to the type specimen 1941:E 18 (from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 9 c. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Ch'ang-sha fa küe pao kao Pl. 43). Exact counterpart of the type specimen 1941:E 24 (there were 2 specimens from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 10 a. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 33). Another piece Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (K'ao ku hüe pao 1959:1). Exact counterparts of the type specimen 1941: E 28. A slightly different but strongly kindred specimen in Pl. 10 b, Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 30). (E 28 from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 10 c. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 31). Exact counterpart of the type specimen 1941:E 29 (from Shou-hien).

- Pl. 11 a. (=the type specimen 1941:E 31). An exact counterpart Shansi, Hung-chao (Wen wu 57:8). (E 31 from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 11 b. Sich'uan, Ch'eng-tu (=Si figs. 5, 6). Not quite id. with but closely kindred to Pl. 11 c=the type specimen 1941:E 33 (under E 33 1 specimen from Shou-hien, 1 from Honan, K'ai-feng).
- Pl. 12 a. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 36). Exact counterpart of the type specimen 1941:E 38 (2 mirrors from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 12 b. Honan, Lo-yang (=Lo fig. 9). Exact counterpart of the type specimen 1941:E 39 (from Shou-hien).

### Category G

- Pl. 12 c. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 42). Another piece Honan, Cheng-chou (Wen wu 1955:10). Exact counterparts of the type specimen 1941:G 4. Another specimen from Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (K'ao ku hüe pao 1957:4) would seem (poor photograph) rather to resemble the type specimen G 5.
- Pl. 13 a. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 41). Another piece Sich'uan, Ch'eng-tu (K'ao ku t'ung hün 1957:3). Exact counterparts of the type specimen 1941:G 10 (there were 2 mirrors from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 13 b. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 45). Exact counterpart of the type specimen 1941:G 14 (there were 2 mirrors from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 13 c. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 9). Another piece Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (Hu fig. 10). Exact counterparts of the type specimen 1941:G 15 (from Shou-hien).

### Category D

- Pl. 14 a. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 44). Not id. with but closely kindred to Pl. 14 b (=the type specimen 1941:D 19).
- Pl. 14 c. (=the type specimen 1941:D 22). An exact counterpart Hunan, Heng-yang (Wen wu 1954:6). (D 22 from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 15 a. (=the type specimen 1941:D 27). An exact counterpart Shansi, Hung-chao (Wen wu 1957:8) (D 27 from Honan, Lo-yang).
- Pl. 15 b. (=the type specimen 1941:D 41). An exact counterpart Shansi, Hiao-yi (K'ao ku hüe pao 1960:7). (D 41 from Honan, Lo-yang).

### Additional types

- Pl. 15 c. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 12). This comes fairly near to type 1941:C 17 and has a considerable affinity with type 1941:C 29; it should be of approximately the same date, 4th c. B. C. (of type C 17 there were two specimens from Shou-hien).

- Pl. 16 a. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 16). This stands close to types 1941:C 50, 51, and should date in the 3rd c. B. C. (of types C 50, 51 six specimens from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 16 b. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 34). Kindred to type 1941:E 14, should be dated in the 3rd c. B. C. (E 14 from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 16 c. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 35). Kindred to types 1941:E 6 and E 15; should date in the 3rd c. B. C. (E 6 and E 15 both from Shou-hien).
- Pl. 17 a. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 43). This is a highly interesting mixture of type 1941:E 16 and G 14 (both with specimens from Shou-hien). Probably dating in the 3rd c. B. C.
- Pl. 17 b. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (MFEA, K. 11387). Specimen studied in detail in BMFEA 24, Pl. 14. 4th or early 3rd c. B. C.
- Pl. 17 c. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Ch'u wen wu chan lan t'u lu 1954, p. 35). But for the square middle frame id. with the type specimen 1941:B 5 (round central frame), of which a much finer specimen is in the MFEA (K. 11495, studied in detail in BMFEA 33, 1961 p. 98). Another specimen with round central frame S'ich'uan, Ch'eng-tu (K'ao ku h'ue pao 1956:4). 6th or 5th c. B. C.
- Pl. 18 a. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Ch'u wen wu chan lan t'u lu 1954, p. 35). The broad flat rim and the technique of the décor indicate an early date (6th or 5th c. B. C.?).
- Pl. 18 b. Hunan, Ch'ang-sha (=Hu fig. 5). A certain affinity to specimen 1941:C 6 may be observed (Pl. 18 c here), which would place it in the 6th or the 5th c. B. C.

Several interesting facts are revealed by these localized finds.

I. In the first place we learn that Hunan was one of the two principal centres for the manufacture of mirrors of the large category C., a worthy counterpart of the Anhuei centre round Shou-hien.<sup>1)</sup>

This is quite natural, since Hunan and Anhuei were precisely the territory of the powerful Ch'u state; the historical data are here confirmed by the archaeological finds. When specimens of this category have been unearthed in other regions (among the new finds: 2 from S'ich'uan, 1 from Shensi; recorded in 1941:10 from Honan, 1 from Shensi),<sup>2)</sup> they had, as a rule, exact counterparts from Anhuei or Hunan. If we reckon Anhuei and Hunan as one, under the term "Ch'u", we can now, thanks to the finds published, improve our figures:

<sup>1)</sup> In 1941 I wrote (p. 55): "It is obvious that Shou-chou cannot have been the sole centre, in the Ch'u kingdom, where these classes of mirrors, here concentrated into one big category (C), have been cast; on the contrary, there must have been a great many Ch'u cities in which the Ch'u art flourished, and we have already mentioned that category-C mirrors have been unearthed as far South as in Ch'ang-sha."

<sup>2)</sup> K. Komai, Ch'ugoku kokyō no kenkyū 1954, Pl. 5 even avers that a mirror of type C 45 (like our Pl. 4 a) was found in Pao-t'ou in Sui-yuan, on the border of Mongolia.

To the 82 specimens from the Ch'u state registered in 1941 are now added 33 more;  
To the 11 specimens from other regions we can now add 3 more.

Whether these latter specimens found outside the ancient Ch'u were brought there by trade or warfare, or whether some artisans, who possessed the art of producing C-type mirrors, occasionally settled down in other feudal states and worked there on a small scale is, of course, a moot question.

There is, however, yet another fact to be observed regarding the new finds of C-type mirrors. In the survey made in 1941 the category C comprised no less than 85 different types, some of them certainly closely resembling each other, with only minor divergences, but as a whole a category offering a remarkable variety and a rich set of artistic themes. I divided the class into 6 sub-categories (1941 pp. 55, 56), and the interesting fact at present is that the Hunan finds offer examples from all six:

- a. Mirrors with only comma pattern in the principal zone (our Pl. 1 a here).
- b. Mirrors with comma (or kindred) pattern in the principal décor zone and a quatrefoil outside the central band (or field), either simple (our Pls. 1 c, 2 a, b, 15 c here) or prolonged into "stalks" and new embellishments (petals or quatrefoils) further out (Pl. 16 a).
- c. Mirrors with comma (or kindred) pattern in the principal décor zone and slanting T's, without further embellishments (our Pl. 3 a, b here).
- d. Mirrors with comma (or kindred) pattern in the principal zone and slanting T's, and with quatrefoils in the centre, either simple (Pl. 3 c here) or prolonged into "stalks" and new embellishments (petals or quatrefoils) further out (Pls. 4 a—c, 5 b, c here) or animals in between (no instances here).
- e. Mirrors with comma pattern in the principal zone, with or without quatrefoils or petals, and with animals (birds, dragons) and debased forms (remnants) of animals (Pls. 6 a—c, 7 a, 17 b here).
- f. Mirrors with comma pattern in the principal zone and zigzag lozenges (and kindred forms) as principal element (Pl. 7 b, c here).

II. Categories E (our Pls. 8—12 b here) and G (Pl. 12 c—13) appear to be less absolutely tied up with the local Ch'u art:

Category E:

To the 37 specimens from Ch'u registered in 1941 are now added 10 more in the new finds.

To the 4 specimens from other regions are now added 8 more in the new finds.

Category G:

To the 19 specimens from Ch'u registered in 1941 are now added 5 more.

To the 4 from other regions are now added 2 more.

Yet even in these categories the Ch'u preponderance is clearly visible.

III. The strangest phenomenon of all is the extreme scarcity, among the new finds published so far, of mirrors belonging to our large, important and exceedingly rich and varied category D, the Honan class of mirrors. The four specimens in Pls.

14 and 15 are so sporadic as to be almost insignificant. It would seem that, in spite of assiduous diggings in the neighbourhood of Lo-yang and in other Honan centres, the Chinese archaeologists have not yet found the fountain from which the earlier treasure hunters drew so copiously, resulting in the hoards of exquisite mirrors, technically perfect and full of richly varied décor motifs, which have been described by me in 1941. The Honan province of pre-Han mirrors is thus still principally known through that paper.





a



b



c





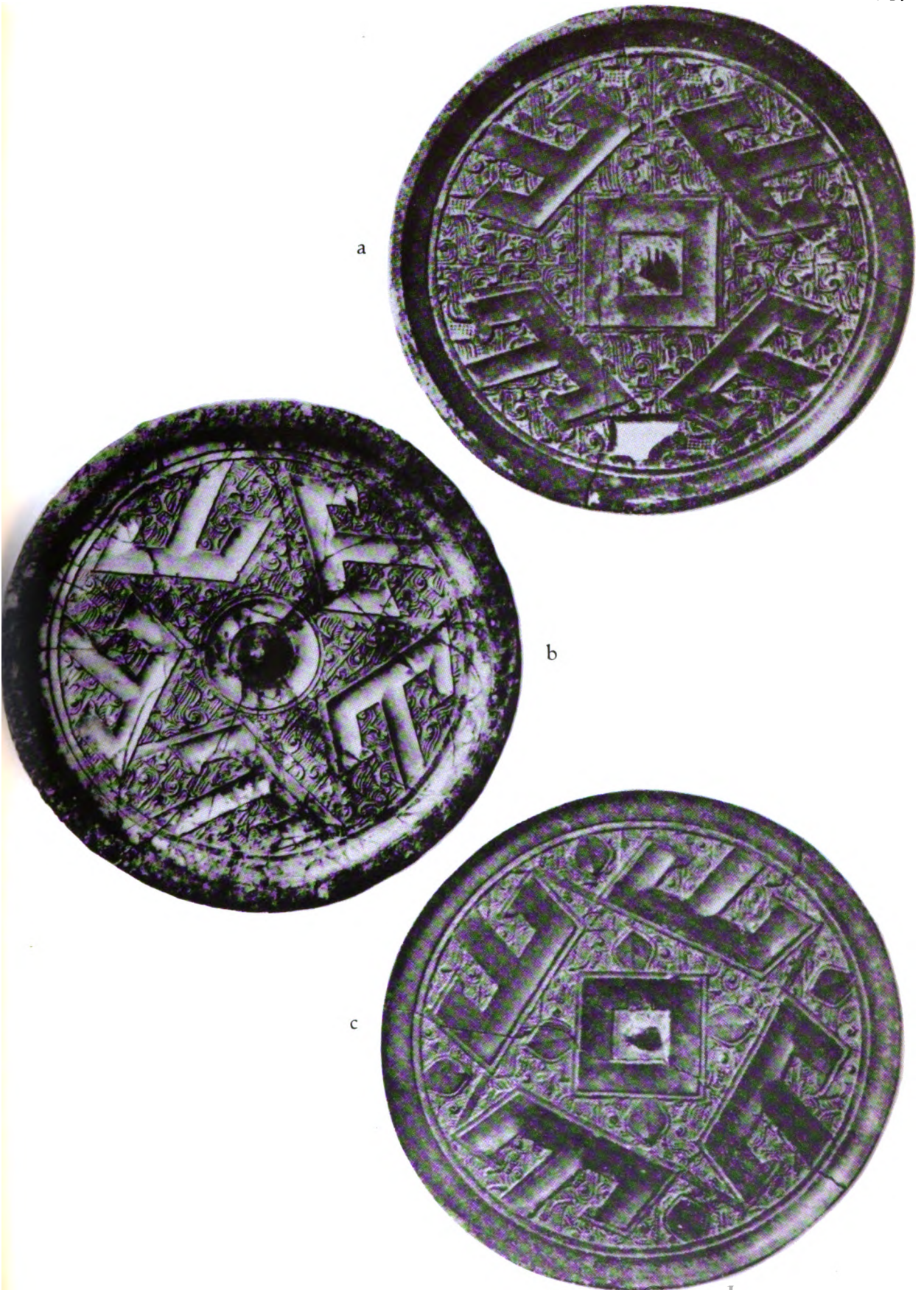
a



b



c







a



b



c





a



b



c

a



b



c





a



b



c







a



b



c





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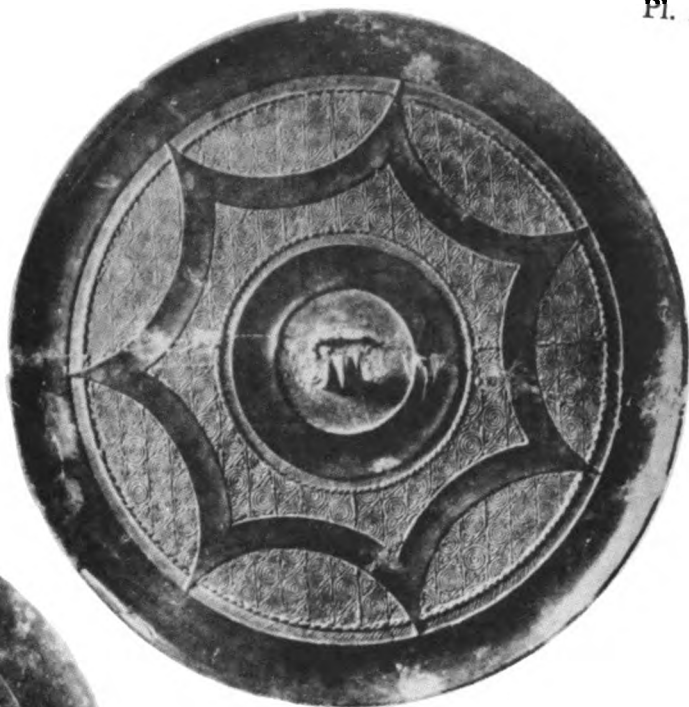


b



c

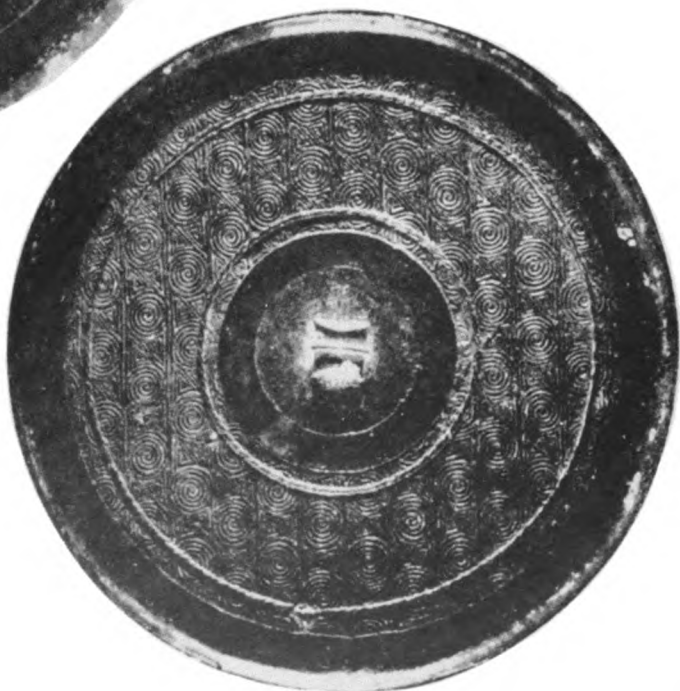
a



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c

a



b



c





a



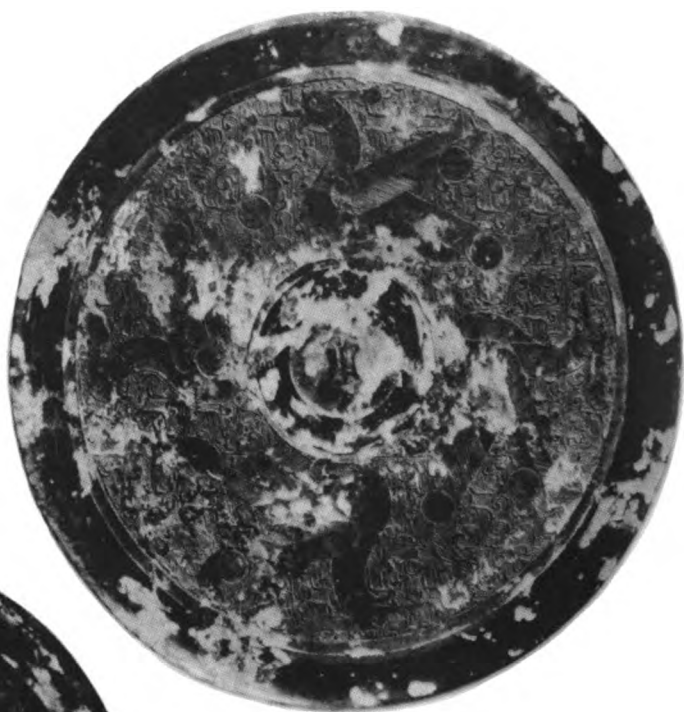
b



c



a



b



c





a



b



c



















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